THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

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The Century of the Child — *George Boas*
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The Turkish Crescent Points East and West

WALTER LIVINGSTON WRIGHT, JR.

TURKEY is a land of peaceful but dramatic revolution. Changes profoundly affecting every aspect of civilized life are taking place almost daily. The Turks are carrying on under their own direction a vast experiment in cultural synthesis. Yet world opinion has regarded developments within the borders of Republican Turkey as only mildly significant. European observers have complacently assumed that Turkey is merely adopting the most obvious and easily available external forms of Western culture. In their opinion the people of Turkey are simply imitators of a way of living and thinking that is becoming universal because of the manifest successes of the West during the last two centuries. "The Turks recognize our superiority and want to become like us" they write and let the matter rest there. What a comfortable and satisfying opinion but how far from the truth!

The fact is this: behind the present development in Turkey lies an absolute rejection of the assumption that Turks are inferior in intellectual or any other capacity to Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans or Americans. The leaders of Modern Turkey have boldly put forth a new interpretation of their own history and it repudiates the point of view of Western historians. Looking into the past they have found that Turks were civilized long centuries before the peoples of Western Europe had emerged from primitive barbarism. From Chinese sources and from even more convincing archeological discoveries made in Central Asia they have learned of the Turkish culture which flourished early in the Christian Era. Recent excavations carried out in Anatolia by Turkish and European archeologists have led to the claim that this region also was peopled by civi-

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lized Turks in the most ancient times. When the Central Asian homeland of the Turks was overrun by Arab invaders and another civilization overlaid the older and more indigenous culture, Turks played not only an active but even a leading part in the development of Medieval Islamic culture. During this period Arabic was the language of scholarship and literature in the Islamic world. Many of the greatest figures in Islamic science and art were Turks who used the Arabic language just as Roger Bacon and Abelard used Latin. Consequently the culture usually called Arabic was really Islamic—a term which avoids linguistic or national discrimination and refers simply to those whose religion was Islam. In war and politics the Turks soon excelled their Arab conquerors and contributed a capacity for discipline and organization which enabled the Islamic world to escape domination by European crusaders. Much that was accomplished during the period, when this Islamic world was the most civilized area with which Europe was in contact, was the work of Turks. Inasmuch as the impact of Islamic thought was an important factor in stimulating the cultural development of later medieval Europe, the so-called Renaissance, it is clear that Turks are justified in claiming both that they have a rich cultural heritage and that they have helped in the shaping of the modern mind.

Until the end of the 16th century the creative ability of the Turks was manifest in art, in literature, in politics and in science. After the foundation of the Ottoman Empire an effective Turkish-Arabic-Persian cultural synthesis was evolved under the leadership of rulers who were as fully devoted to the arts of peace as they were successful in the pursuit of war. Sultan Mehmet, the Conqueror of Constantinople, was the Renaissance ruler "par excellence," a patron not only of Islamic but also of Western art and literature, a collector of paintings, a poet and a linguist. The best biography of him in existence was written in most laudatory tone by one of those conquered Greeks who were long thought to have hated him most bitterly. Instead of fleeing to Italy to begin the Classical Renaissance, as Euro-

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pean historians for years believed, the Byzantine Greeks remained in Istanbul to serve the Turkish Conqueror willingly. Sultan Mehmet may well have been the model for the Renaissance prince so ably portrayed and so obviously admired by Machiavelli.

During half of the 16th century Süleyman the Magnificent was the greatest monarch of an age which produced also the Emperor Charles V and Elizabeth of England. The monuments he built still remain to prove that in the 16th century Turkish culture was fully on a par with that of Western Europe. But his death was followed by a long period of decline diversified by occasional recoveries when an exceptionally able head of state carried out a temporary reform. The intellectual life of the later Ottoman Empire was rigidly bound by the hard fetters of Islamic scholasticism and was dominated by a backward-looking mentality quite possibly inherited from Byzantium. Government and society were totally unaffected by the intellectual revolution of the 16th and 17th centuries in Europe. While science was achieving its ascendancy in European thought and new economic forces were changing the structure of Western society the Turks were living behind a Chinese wall of pride in their past greatness and disdain for the activities of the West. During two centuries, from 1600 to 1800, official contacts with Europe were usually military and almost uniformly disastrous. These disasters at long last convinced the men at the head of the state that drastic changes must be made if the Empire was to survive.

Just before the beginning of the 19th century Sultan Selim III and his council of state decided that the first and most important step was the creation of an army organized and equipped along European lines. The hereditary military caste of Janissaries, supported by reactionary opinion throughout the Empire, opposed this change and succeeded in deposing and murdering the Sultan. This reform, however, was eventually carried out by his nephew, Sultan Mahmut II. The Janissaries and their most prominent allies, the Bektashi Dervishes, were

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practically exterminated. Since certain specialized techniques were necessary in European warfare technical schools, such as that for military engineering, were early established and still continue to function. A school of medicine came next because the replacement of those European-trained soldiers who died of disease and wounds for want of proper care was extremely expensive. The changes that have been mentioned consisted entirely of the importation of techniques and the development of an organization capable of utilizing them effectively. No fundamental social or political reform was attempted. The aim of the Government was to turn against the West its own weapons, using them to preserve the old culture from Western encroachment. The key-note of subsequent cultural development in Turkey had been struck and was repeated again and again during succeeding years.

The 19th century in Turkey was an era of tragic and heroic struggle on the part of Turkish statesmen against forces too powerful to be overcome. Neighboring states replaced the old professional troops with immense conscript armies—the nation in arms—but the Ottoman Empire was not a nation. Nationalism penetrated the subject Christian populations and added a new enemy whose strength lay largely in the assistance given it by foreign powers covetous of Turkish territory and desirous of exploiting Turkish trade and natural resources. Ottoman statesmen faced in a most acute form the same problem which the rulers of the Hapsburg domains vainly attempted to solve. In Turkey the problem was more intense because national and religious groups were not segregated in separate geographical areas, each isolated from the other. No city and no province had a homogeneous population. Distinctions were occupational rather than geographical. Each national group contained peasants but the artisans and business men were Christian or Jewish whereas most of the government officials and all of the soldiers were Turkish. Nationalism under these circumstances represented an aim that could not be realized. The Empire was in the most emphatic sense a house divided against itself. Religious

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feeling added strength to the group nationalisms. Every effort on the part of enlightened statesmen like Reshid Pasha to make the population politically homogeneous by giving rights to the previously subject Christians met with failure because of the fanatical opposition of Moslem conservatives.[1]

Military strength was becoming increasingly a mere reflection of economic development but the Empire's economic life was medieval. The capitulatory privileges which powerful sultans had long ago granted to supplant European governments prevented any effective tariff protection for local industry, for the Ottoman Government was too feeble to demand a revision of these ancient licenses for economic exploitation. Handicrafts and traditional arts were smothered under the influx of cheap European machine-made goods. At length the Great Powers quarreled over the division of the markets as well as the territories of the dying Empire. The Turks learned all they wanted to know of both political and economic imperialism, with Russia, England, France and Germany their chief teachers.

Territories were lost to Austria or Russia in almost every decade and spheres of economic influence were created by Germany and England. The Balkan states came into existence and Egypt achieved a tentative independence under the dynasty of Mehmet Ali. Turkey was "the sick man of Europe." His ultimate demise was expected and hastened by all of his neighbors. The Balkan Wars marked the beginning of an end consummated during the World War and officially registered in the Treaty of Sévres.

The Ottoman Empire was dead, and no better proof of this can be found than the utter failure of the post-war Sultans to establish their authority in Anatolia, even though they were backed by the victorious governments of the Great Alliance which had defeated the Central Powers. But though the Empire was dead the Turkish people were very much alive. When the Allied Powers encouraged the occupation of Anatolia by the

[1] The author comments further on Turkey, especially its Greek and Armenian minority groups, in the Discussion section of this number, p. 377.

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Greek Army spontaneous resistance developed on every hand. Patriotic and energetic Turks took to the hills and began a guerilla warfare against Greek forces advancing from Smyrna and along the Black Sea coast, as well as against the French and their Armenian allies in Cilicia and northern Mesopotamia. This originally sporadic rising was organized and directed by the genius who still dominates the life of Turkey. All the resentment that had accumulated against foreign invaders and all the pride of race and privilege that the Turkish people possessed was systematized and organized by him into a successful national movement which ended its first stage of development at Lausanne. There the Government of Kemal Atatürk proved to the world that there was a Turkish nation and that it was not only free but the only real victor to emerge from the cataclysm of the World War.

Military victory over the Greeks in Anatolia followed by diplomatic victory over the Great Powers at Lausanne might have satisfied a short-sighted leader but the aims of Atatürk went far beyond those objectives. He realized that the continued existence of Turkey must depend upon its development as a strong, modern state. This implied social, economic and political changes of the most radical nature. In pursuit of the ideal which he visualized, and supported by the entire educated population, he proceeded to initiate a great series of far-reaching reforms in every department of life and thought. The Government had been reorganized during the National Revolt as a democratic republic and its institutions were now thoroughly remodelled. Society had to break the rigid bonds imposed upon it by Islamic theocracy. Almost all of the subject populations were exchanged, so that the nation became religiously and linguistically homogeneous. A Latin alphabet replaced the cumbersome Arabic, which had never been satisfactory for Turkish and had hindered the progress of mass education. Modern codes of law were adopted and women were given equal rights with men. Railways were built and transportation in general greatly improved. The

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development of industry for the manufacture of native raw materials was taken in hand and pushed forward by banks strongly supported by the Government. National defense was organized efficiently but without aggressive intent. The Ottoman state with its imperial ambitions and farflung weaknesses was gone and a closely-knit modern nation without territorial ambitions had taken its place.

Much has been said and written about these manifold reforms. They have been listed and catalogued and given "paper" evaluations. The European original of this or that code or law has been discovered and commented upon. Everyone knows that in some cases texts of European origin were translated word for word and enacted by the National Assembly. And always it was this quality of imitation, this apparent lack of originality that was called to our attention. Always it was assumed that the Turk was attempting to mimic some one else, yet no satisfying answer was given to the question: Why do the Turks do all this? Both question and answer are simple: Why will a man left naked in an Arctic blizzard put on whatever clothes may be at hand? Will he do it to be like the greasy Eskimo who made them or because clothing is necessary to preserve his life? The answer is obvious. The Turks want to continue to exist *as Turks*. Since the first requisite is physical existence they put on whatever clothing may be at hand. They have changed the externals of life and are changing the internals in order to escape death. They are adopting every technique which will aid in their struggle for existence. But the struggle is not merely for existence as human beings, for they could have achieved this far more easily under a foreign mandate; it is for existence as people who feel themselves distinct from all other groups, unique in the world of men, Turks. They will give up as little of this Turkish quality as possible in order to preserve as much of it as they can.

This attitude of mind is observed readily by the foreigner engaged in educational work in Turkey. He first notices that most students are concerned with the "practical" utility in the subject he teaches and that this utility is evaluated in terms of

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tangible "goods," such as the probable effect of the increase in knowledge on his ultimate income or rank in the hierarchy of salaried officials. Since the knowledge of one or more foreign languages has such a value students are eager to learn them. The kind of science taught in technical schools—medical, engineering, commercial—has a similar value. On the other hand research in science has few attractions. The Faculty of Arts and Sciences in the University of Istanbul has few male students and is crowded with girls who expect to become teachers, while the Faculties of Law and Medicine are overcrowded with men. The medical profession is much respected and reasonably lucrative and the law degree not only leads to practice in the courts but also opens the way for a career in government service or in teaching. Most students are aiming at immediate and tangible results from their education. They are seldom very much interested in the subjects studied as fields of research. In brief, to all except a few persons of exceptional insight and knowledge Western culture seems to be something unwillingly learned under the pressure of superior force. No more of it is to be acquired than necessity dictates. The Western teacher tends to conclude from this lack of concern for "pure research" that there is no intellectual life in Turkey. He fails to realize that his students are going from the classroom to a world where all their energies will be devoted to the colossal task of utilizing and assimilating the most well-known and obvious results of Western science. Turkey is a land of undeveloped resources, both physical and human, and society is necessarily in the pioneer or frontier stage. So much that is of an immediate and tangible nature has to be done that Turks have as yet no more time and energy for research than Americans had on the frontier a generation or two ago. Within the narrowest possible span of time the Turks must learn all the technique that the West has developed since the Middle Ages. This may not be research but is quite possibly just as fascinating to men of energy and ability.

The superficial observer might conclude that the situation is dismal and the prospect uninteresting. Quite the contrary is

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true. This very resistance to change, this unconscious clinging to well-known and well-loved ways of living or thinking is a sign of strength and promise. By preserving his own existence as a Turk the student retains the possibility of creating eventually a synthesis of his old culture with the new. Those peoples who completely lost their former culture when they were conquered by Rome and dazzled by her civilization created nothing and remained mere imitators. In fact the idea of a possible synthesis is already present in Turkey. Thoughtful writers have pointed out clearly the futility of imitating the mistakes of Western Europe and have criticized trenchantly the weakness of unregulated capitalism, of Fascism and of Communism. The leaders of the New Turkey are striving to avoid the mistakes made by Europe while utilizing the amazing technical knowledge of Europeans. They are developing industry without allowing the excesses of unregulated capitalism which bred both Communism and Fascism. The government is a parliamentary democracy and at the same time largely controlled by the will and vision of its chief executive. This situation may profitably be compared with England during the reign of Elizabeth or the United States during the first few months of the Roosevelt administration. The Turks are learning the techniques of Europe with amazing rapidity because they do not wish to be conquered by any European state and forced into a cultural mold not of their own choosing. Mastery of these techniques is enabling them to continue to exist as Turks and is already leading toward the creation of a new synthesis, a new culture, differing from that of Modern Europe as well as from that of Ottoman Turkey.

Speculation on the possibility of synthesizing Islamic and Western culture has long been rife. In Turkey the effort to achieve such a synthesis is now being made under the direction of a leader who is by any test a genius. What the result will be is not yet clear but there can be no doubt that the experiment is of the utmost significance in the cultural history of mankind.

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The Century of the Child

GEORGE BOAS

WHEN Ellen Key prophesied that the 20th century would be the century of the child she little knew in what sense her prophecy would be true. She thought it would be the epoch when children would be given their rights at last, be studied as true individuals having interests different from those of adults and satisfied as such. But she did not realize that the Child would become not only the focus of all our thought but also the model for our behavior. She foresaw a benevolent paternalism in which all the sweetness and innocence of childhood would bloom; what eventuated has been on the contrary a maleficent paidocracy in which with the usual flattery of the governed, adults have imitated their real rulers not only mentally but in some cases physically.

Those of us who have children have no illusions about their sweetness and innocence. Children are much less on the side of the angels than on that of the devils; their souls are dark and treacherous; illusion is their realm and, born of lust, their god is appetite. But lest I succumb to rhetoric let us list the most prominent characteristics of children and see whether or not we have a composite photograph of contemporary man.

Children, lacking reason, rely on phantasy and like the savage have no power of grasping facts for what they are. Shadows are not the interception of light but ghosts, spectres, portents, things to fear and frighten others with. Flowers have faces; trees sigh, dance, shiver and laugh; clouds are dragons, ships, beasts; every possibility of committing the pathetic fallacy is actualized. They are typical Neo-Platonists, believing that everything is something else. They are good Wordsworthians in their common detestation of Peter Bell: the child does not exist who would look at a primrose and see it only as a primrose. The flower in the

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crannied wall when pulled out of its cranny—and what child would dream of not pulling it out?—inevitably turns into God and Man. Nothing is simply what it is—all must be something else.

The process of growing up is precisely the opposite of this. The rational man knows that primroses are primroses and when he meets one on the river's brim enjoys its visual beauty, may mutter "*Primula vulgaris*" as a concession to pedantry, and passes on. Clouds, mountains, trees, rivers are something to enjoy the sight of and utilize, not something to be edified by. The Neo-Platonic—or the Wordsworthian—way to him is simply confusion and he finds no sense in confusion. If everything is something else sooner or later one gets back to where one started from. For if flowers in the crannied wall have to be God and Man, what in the world are God and Man to be? Such people, like Stevenson when he wrote his *Child's Garden of Verses*, are made happy as kings by sheer multiplicity but unless there is an actually infinite number of things they are going to give out sooner or later and the process of confusion will have to end. The man of reason knows this and therefore is willing to admit that things are themselves and nothing more.

But the modern man is not a man of reason. Neo-Platonism has won out and we are all childlike and innocent. This is seen most clearly in our political innovations. When historians come to write the story of our times they will be wrong unless they point out as its most remarkable characteristic its revulsion against democracy. Democracy is a régime which to be successful demands the greatest intellectual maturity, for not only is it based upon reasoning but upon the willingness to let others reason. Parliaments, that is—and I am equating the parliamentary system with democracy—exist not only to represent the electorate but to discuss and debate issues whose conclusions are not self-evident. But there is no debate where there is only one side and in order to have more than one side there has to be freedom of discussion, which in principle admits that the other fellow may be right and you wrong. Such a principle has no

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charm for a child. A child always knows that he, his gang, his street, his school, his church, his city, his state, his country, whatever can be identified with him, are right and there's no sense in denying it. If you do deny it you're crazy and he's willing to fight you to prove that you're crazy, mental weakness being characteristically confused with physical. When the question is not one of appetite he is willing to go beyond the limits of his own experience, but only to appeal to what Dad says, or all the fellers or my teacher. Thus if the question concerns the relative merits of Little Orphan Annie or Buck Rogers his say-so is enough; but if it's a question of who's going to get the pennant then his say-so requires backing—but the backing is always someone else's say-so.

Every substitute for democracy is similar; each is anti-intellectualistic. Away with parliaments, for they are merely debating societies. Away with discussion; we want action. Down with professors, we want practical guys who get things done. A Duce, a Fuehrer, a leader—the head of the gang, to whom unquestioning loyalty is due and by whom it is exacted—such is our ideal. If you have doubts they are answered not by argument but by mob violence—the logic of persuasion (according to which only castor oil or tar and feathers have value as evidence) having taken the place of the logic of conviction.

The logic of persuasion is the logic of the brute, and the child is of course as close to the animal as any human being other than an idiot can get. The brute is not a Neo-Platonist, so far as I know, but the child is both an animal and a Neo-Platonist. There is one trait of the infra-human world which we all admire—its dumbness; this is its one trait which children have not taken over. The ruthless cruelty of animals, self-centered in the solitary beasts, herd-centered in the gregarious, this is the characteristic which children most perfectly exemplify. They will go to any lengths to torture others whom they suspect of being weaker than they. The schoolboy who is a bully is acting, in his sphere, exactly like the cat who tortures a mouse before killing it. There is doubtless some deep biological necessity for

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both but we are not discussing causes. The child who cannot bully another physically, being too ineffectual in his muscles, does it mentally, by ridicule, slander, or sophistry. But it is peculiarly interesting that the victims of bullies are usually the most valuable members of society: those who are imaginative, inventive, artistically talented, intellectually gifted. They are nuts, in other words, and no child likes a nut. All of us can remember the agony of having been made to wear a cap or a suit or a tie which made us a little different from the other fellows; all of us can remember the punishment meted out to the boys who were obedient or who got good marks or who were good in drawing or music. Such children instead of exciting the admiration of their fellows invariably excited their contempt, a contempt which was expressed in the usual forms of cruelty.

After a century in which humane impulses were cultivated, in which altruism was lauded to the skies, in which the highest ambition of young people was "social service" of some sort or other, we come to a time when humanitarianism is despised as the philosophy of the milksop. The very term "liberal," which used to be a term of praise, is now one of derision. One must be an extremist, whether red or white makes very little difference, but to be able to give each man his due, admitting the diversity of human nature, this is the great modern vice. Extremism is typical of the child-mind, which believes in the universal applicability of the law of the excluded middle. To exclude the middle facilitates brutality for it divides the world at once into good and bad, i.e. my kind and the other kind, and nothing is too bad for the other kind. Hence we find political, social and racial minorities treated with a cruelty which would not have been tolerated in the 19th century when statesmen found the preaching of altruism, not national egoism, the best means of arousing public sympathy. I do not say that nations in the 19th century were really more altruistic than they are today; I merely say that altruism was at that time an effective means of propaganda. It would be laughable today.

A Neo-Platonic brute when he has to excuse his behavior

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does it, not by saying that his victims are weak and therefore appointed by destiny to be his victims but by saying that they are evil. This is the technique of the literary "realist" who maintains that only discreditable motives are true ones. The wave of debunking that has washed up into our libraries so many absurd biographies, so much psychoanalytic fiction, so many "economic interpretations" of acts not economic in their nature, is symptomatic of this trend. One need not have many illusions about the human race to realize that some people—perhaps only enough to have saved Sodom and Gomorrah—are really brave when they seem brave, really honest when they seem honest, really faithful when they seem faithful. One can, if one is mature, recognize the existence of hypocrisy, indeed of insanity, without maintaining that all men are hypocrites or crazy. One can, in other words, recognize the unusual, the "unnatural" if one likes the term, the abnormal, without immediately concluding that it is the standard from which all things deviate. A simple mind is made uneasy by deviation; it is helpless when confronted with statistics and insists that "beneath the surface" of deviating individuals there must be some fixed and immutable reality by which the deviations can be tested. Thus one finds the argument that, for instance, since the line between sanity and insanity is hard to draw it doesn't exist. (So is the line between hot and cold, moist and dry, but any fool knows when to pull up the blanket or put on a raincoat.) When one goes only so far as this one is simple-minded; one becomes childish when one insists that the worse end of a scale is necessarily the real end. There are cases, to be sure, where goodness is an illusion but there is no universal law from which we can deduce the unique reality of evil. A child has a kind of cacotropism which not only turns him automatically to the bad but which on that very account leads him to believe that only evil is real. That is why he sneers at every act whose evil motive is not apparent.

That attitude is explicable enough in childhood. The process of education is a refinement upon nature made by human nature. It substitutes a way of living which has been developed with

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difficulty and has been imposed upon the animal regimen into which we relapse when the restraints of civilization are loosened. The original condition of man was apparently found unsatisfactory some thousands of years ago but since experience is not inherited every child has to begin the ascent afresh. He has no way of knowing that the process is worth while and sometimes by inertia, sometimes by open rebellion, tries to avoid it. To him brutishness is innate—it is the condition which if he could talk he would say is "natural." He does not see that our problem is to thicken the coat of civilization, not to remove it. But it is an error which is pardonable in his case.

It is not pardonable in adults. They are not permitted to reason that because the muscles exist to move our bones man is therefore essentially a skeleton. They ought to be able to see things in their proper relation to one another, however destructive that may prove to neat system-building. It ought to be automatic with an adult to recognize a fact when he sees it; in reality the facts that hardened realists say they see are usually dreadful fictions. Thus all the shadows of the unconscious, the sight of which is held to be especially revelatory of human motives, can be seen only through the glasses of theory—yet a thinker who remains on the conscious level of experience is said to have no eye for facts. He is being condemned, however, not by the falsity of his findings but by his infidelity to metaphor. Were his accusers able to speak in literal language not even they would think themselves profound. It sounds superficial to state that when a person says whatever comes into his head he is likely to make some remarks usually considered indecent; it sounds profound to say that free association releases the verbal inhibitions of the Censor. Who could resist the glamor of such phrases as "the depths of the mind," "the roots of consciousness," "the source of human motives"?

The child, whose education is a farewell to savagery, falls easily into resentment and fear. His appetites are checked by fear of consequences: if he does this he will get sick; if he does that he will break his Mother's heart; if he does the other he

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will disgrace the family name. He begins to dwell upon the terrors that surround our unhappy race and takes a special delight in ghosts, witches and hobgoblins. His heroes are great athletes or great criminals. He talks of gangsters, murderers, crooks. His imagination moves in a kind of Gothic darkness.

When we read the *Castle of Otranto* today we think of *Northanger Abbey* and laugh. We pity the poor imbeciles of the 18th century who for all their wit and reason could find recreation in such nonsense. Yet we too have our Gothic novels, only in ours the ruined castle is the Southern plantation and the ghost is the pervert—we find our horror in human ruins; the 18th century found its in architectural. But the fascination of decay is as strong for us as it was for our forefathers nor is it any the less childish. One has only to think of *Tobacco Road*, *Sanctuary*, most of *Eyeless in Gaza*, to wonder how an age which delights in such things can have the stamina to perfect the physical sciences. The achievement of the authors of these books has been in part to have discovered a human degeneration which needed articulation, in part to have dished it up as fiction so that we may actually enjoy it without any feeling of responsibility for changing it. A more heroic age would be interested in lessening human misery; a childish age takes horror for normal, dwells upon it as a spectacle interesting in its own right. This appetite is, I suppose, the same kind of coprophilia which babies are supposed to have. The youth turns from the colon to the genitalia.

A child, however, does not want to stay a child; he usually wants to grow up. We who have grown up so hanker after childhood that we openly deny our years. Has there ever been a period when adults so brazenly have pretended to be young? No matter what their age, our women dress and act like girls, our men like undergraduates. The greatest compliment you can pay a person is to remark upon his youthful appearance. Everything is done to conceal the fact that human life lasts longer than 25 years. We have not only prolonged our infancy but what we foolishly imagine to be the tastes of infancy. Hence the passion

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for "cuteness." We have cute little houses with peaked roofs and picket fences, with cute little casement windows and diamond shaped panes; we have cute little gardens with earthenware gnomes and elves fishing in cute little fishponds; we have cute little table decorations, glass animals and imitation flowers; cute little movie stars and animated cartoons; cute little pets—Scotties and wire-haired terriers and Pekinese; cute little apartments with cute little kitchenettes and a cute little terrarium on the window-sill; it's all just too cute for words. No real child ever wanted to be cute; no adult that wanted to be a child ever failed to. Cuteness has the charm of make-believe; children make believe because they cannot have reality—adults because they are afraid to have it.

This passion for cuteness is stimulated by our schools. Thanks to the pedagogues of those two nations which have given us Fascism and National Socialism the rights of immaturity and free expression have been given full license. There can be no question but that progressive education has freed the elementary and secondary schools of much of the cruel discipline and formalism of the olden days. No one is going to deny that making school interesting was a blessing and that the elimination of subjects whose only recommendation was their difficulty needs no excuse. It is also granted that adjusting education to individual aptitude was a necessary reform in a society where education is compulsory. At the same time it had two great weaknesses. Like the elective system its administration requires psychological knowledge which few teachers possess and frequently it mistakes laziness for inaptitude. As its practitioners are now beginning to realize, if it is to work some way must be found to instil self-discipline to take the place of that formerly administered by the teachers. That unfortunately has not been done in the past, with the result that children educated to believe their desires and personalities are sacred continue to demand of life that same consideration which their teachers are accustomed to give them. When they grow up those children retain their childish ideals for the very reason that they have never heard of any others.

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If, when they emerge into a world which is not so cute as they have been taught to expect, they consider active work futile, why wonder that they continue the tradition of the kindergarten? Just as they go pottering round a golf course hitting a ball, so they hang up their stockings on Christmas Eve until the day of their death, expecting Santa Claus to come down the chimney and bring them what every grown man knows they can only earn for themselves.

Confusion, brutality, pessimism, fear, all translated into terms of cuteness—these are the marks of modern man. What wonder that we are unhappy and incapable of self-government. In what were formerly two great nations, Italy and Germany, Youth holds the reins and, as a German recently told me, a man of 40 is an old man. Why this general arrested development has overtaken us I have no means of knowing; that it has overtaken us is proved daily by the papers, the movies, the museums, by all the effluences of what inner life we have. It is not sufficient to grumble about it; it is the decided duty of every teacher to act upon his knowledge that it is so and to correct it. And by "teacher" I do not mean merely those who hold positions in schools.

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No Catholic Way of Catching Fish

JOSEPH P. MCMURRAY

SINCE the people of Antigonish couldn't come to a university, a university came to the people and by so doing taught a depressed population of Nova Scotia to do "first things first"—to solve such immediate problems as credit or marketing through a cooperative organization. The Antigonish Plan is simple. It is nothing spectacular or grandiose nor is it a delicately-balanced mechanism dependent on a fortuitous set of circumstances or on the complicated working out of a socio-economic theory. It does not depend on the ability of a single individual or on a particular group of men but on the common man's desire to mitigate his own lot. The ultimate aim of the whole plan is a realization of a cooperative commonwealth.

Better to appreciate the movement, however, it is necessary to consider the seven eastern counties of Nova Scotia, frequently referred to as Eastern Nova Scotia and canonically known as the diocese of Antigonish, where the movement is having its initial success. Approximately 50 per cent of the 197,887 people of this most industrial area of Nova Scotia are Catholics, sturdy descendents of Scotch, English, Irish and French forbears. Practically all the coal mining and steel manufacturing and their subsidiary industries are located in this region. Largely dependent on these industries are the 65,229 people living on the surrounding farms. The fishing and lumbering industries which give seasonal employment to many of the small farmers, provide a livelihood for the remainder of the people.

No more eloquent commentary can be made on the economic condition of the people than the continuous stream of emigration from these ragged Arcadian shores. During the past 70 years the population, in spite of the new coal mining and steel works

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and their subsidiaries, has shown only a very slow increase, and between 1921 and 1931 an actual decline.[1] Those who left, moreover, were the young and most energetic of the population whose invigorating spirit and initiative were essential for progress and development.[2] The Nova Scotian fishing industry, one of the most valuable in the world, while it yielded an increasingly more valuable catch[3] failed to bring prosperity to the entire industry. The little prosperity there was redounded to the larger ports with their superior marketing organization and equipment, at the expense of the smaller ports[4] and the mass of fishermen whose total number declined.[5] The lumber industry, dependent as it is on foreign markets and the vagaries of the business cycle, was subject to wide fluctuation. Changes in the industrial uses of lumber have intensified such fluctuations. Because of these factors, together with the general use of the portable mill,[6] the brunt of the burden was borne by the laboring class. The Provincial Royal Commission on coal mining in 1926 painted a sad picture of conditions in the industry investigated, even though production had shown an increase (with some fluctuations) up to 1930. The poor wages, working and housing conditions were reflected in the serious strikes that took place in the lumber industry.[7] The drop of 30 per cent in the agricultural population since 1881 indicates the decline in most branches of agriculture.[8] Nova Scotia as a region tends to be "at the end of the whip" of a tariff and a national policy

[1] In 1870 the population of Nova Scotia formed 10.5 per cent of the whole of Canada, whereas in 1931 it comprised but 4.94 per cent. *Canadian Almanac*, 1937, p. 350.

[2] Canadian Bureau of Statistics, *Maritime Provinces Since Confederation*, Ottawa, 1927, p. 33.

[3] Rogers, Norman McL., Royal Commission on Economic Enquiry, *A Submission on Dominion-Provincial Relations and Fiscal Disabilities of N.S.* (Halifax, 1934), p. 79.

[4] *Report of the Provincial Royal Commission on the Economic Enquiry* (Halifax, 1934), p. 27.

[5] Innis, H. A., *Complementary Report on the Royal Economic Enquiry*, p. 147.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[7] N.S. although containing 5.96 per cent of the population of Canada in 1921 accounted for 17.3 per cent of the man days lost through labor strife in the period 1901-1925. In 1925 it accounted for 84.8 per cent of the days lost in the whole of Canada, the coal industry being responsible for the greater part. Canadian Bureau of Statistics, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

[8] The apple, dairy and poultry industries have shown an increase in business and provide much room for expansion. *Complementary Report*, p. 145.

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in general designed to benefit Central Canada.[9] The distance from protected centers and the dependence of Nova Scotian industries, except possibly coal and steel, on the world market account to a great extent for the deplorable conditions prevalent —which have pressed most heavily on the most exposed and unorganized group, the workers in these industries.

What effect have these conditions had on the people who have not migrated? For the many, none. Their burdens have been so heavy that an added weight fails to produce any intellectual reaction—"It only makes the shoulders droop another fraction of an inch."[10] In others it has produced a complete breakdown of morale. Many were content to live on relief, in some towns to the extent of 75 per cent of the population.[11] In one community, Exville, the citizens, all fishermen, refused to pay for their gear, which had been supplied them by the authorities, although they had voluntarily given signed agreements to reimburse the government. If nations and large corporations did not keep their promises, they said, why should poor fishermen have to?[12] Others furnished good material for communist propaganda.[13] A. S. MacIntyre, former communist leader and present field secretary of St. Francis Xavier University Extension, has "seen May Day the biggest holiday in Cape Breton with 5000-7000 turning out in parade" while today there are not enough Communists for a meeting. He is the same man who as chairman in the Great General Strike in Cape Breton took a vote on whether or not the town should be burned down. The Communists, according to him, were the only group who would go out and fight beside the workmen.[14] In the light of such conditions there can be little cause for wonder that a territory, even a Catholic one, marked by such poverty, should turn to Communism.

[9] *Complementary Report*, p. 150.

[10] MacCracken, G. W., "Cooperatives in Nova Scotia" in *Saturday Night*, 3/27/37.

[11] Louisdale, from *Notes on Trip*, Aug. 1937, H. Dingman & F. H. Ransom.

[12] Tufts, E. S., "Universities Fail to Help Citizenry Solve Its Problems," in *Halifax Herald*, 9/10/35.

[13] *Report of the Royal Commission on Coal Mining*, 1926, p. 4, takes note of the communistic activity among the coal miners.

[14] MacIntyre, A. S., *From Communism Back to Christianity*.

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Almost at the heart of these deplorable conditions stood the small university, St. Francis Xavier. Could a university, the storehouse of culture and knowledge, rise to meet a practical situation, help the common people who had hitherto never entered the portals of the institution and solve the problems confronting them? Could a university that in most cases serves as a wedge to increase the gap between the intelligentsia and the vulgus profanum point the way out? St. Francis Xavier University did just that. Even before its organized effort in 1929 it stood out as a pioneer. It was not, in Gruntvig's words, a "University of Death" but of Life. For over 30 years the agricultural experts on the faculty cooperated with the government in bringing technical knowledge to the people of Nova Scotia. Dr. Hugh MacPherson, one of these men, was responsible for the institution of several cooperative enterprises. A People's School, similar to the Danish Folk School, was conducted by the University in 1921 and 1922. Since 1817 the priests of the diocese, under whose control the University lies, have convened every year with prominent laymen to discuss matters relative to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the diocese.

The present organization, most students of the movement will agree, owes its greatest incentive and impetus to Father Tompkins, "the beloved radical." While in the "exile" parish of Canso, where he was shifted from St. Francis Xavier University in 1925, he brought about an economic and cultural transformation which words fail to describe accurately. Dr. Tompkins is a most ardent advocate of democracy but believes that "We must build from the bottom up." To do this, he says, "We must educate the common people" who "must be intelligent enough to manage their own affairs in such a way that in case of necessity the right man appears at the right time to express the will of the people." His faith in the ability of the common people is as extraordinary as the feats he has aided them in accomplishing. A man of deep learning, he speaks the "fisherman's language." John Dewey has no greater interpreter than this man who actually carried on the project

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method on a community-wide scale. He eloquently proves Thorndike's theory that age is no limitation on learning.

It all started in Dover,[15] a small hamlet situated 8 miles south of Canso and consisting of 55 families and 300 people —all Catholics. The settlement is over 100 years old and its history is one of misery and extreme privation. Almost entirely dependent upon their catch, these fishermen accepted the small prices proffered as a matter over which they had little control. This was the situation that confronted the indomitable Father Tompkins who as parish priest of Canso was delegated to say Mass in Dover bi-monthly. Convinced that the only effective solution lay in the ability of the people to solve their own problems, he began his own adult education experiment. Every fortnight for 5 years he held informal gatherings on Saturday night and outlined the difficulties of these poor fishing folk, their need of education and the possibilities it held out to them for solving their problems. Progress was slow at first but caution and deliberation, not a fleeting enthusiasm, were characteristic of the project.

The group increased from 15 in 1925 to about 100 in 1929. During this time these men, with the assistance of the government, built the first street in the community. Inspired by the success of this venture they built a lobster factory with $125 they had saved and $1000 they were able to borrow. The labor and lumber they themselves furnished. At the end of the year (1931) they were able to show a profit of $1000 after having paid off their debt. In 1933 they constructed a fish-curing plant and a storage house. A night school, opened in 1930, increased in enrolment from 20 in the first year to 35 in 1933 and 1934. Of this group three men over 60 years of age, formerly illiterate, are now reading newspapers intelligently. The women, too, were organized in study clubs where they dealt with problems of particular interest to them—home economics, handicrafts, canning etc. By cooperative purchasing on various occasions the fishermen saved $4 on a single

[15] *Results of Adult Education in Dover*, Catholic University.

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fishing net, 5 cents per pound on rope, 4 cents per pound on nails and 15 cents a bushel on potatoes. By learning to utilize small patches of ground suitable for gardening they have grown a variety of vegetables that were formerly considered luxuries. These, together with the higher prices they received from cooperative marketing of their catch, improved their standards of living and their social perspective. They were able to plan their life. Projects such as the introduction of electricity and the erection of an icehouse and freezer for storing fish and bait are now being studied.

With the inspiration and the advice of a man like Father Tompkins it is no wonder that the Extension Division of St. Francis Xavier University has been organized or that it functions so well. In 1928 the University, with the encouragement of the bishop of the diocese, decided to consolidate and perpetuate a program of adult education through the extension division. After studying adult education in the United States and Canada the Reverend M. M. Coady and Professor A. B. MacDonald decided on a very concrete and pragmatic program. The first problem was to get people to study. To do this you must show them that study pays.

After some preliminary work on the part of a St. Francis Xavier University Extension representative a general meeting is called, usually by the local pastor. At such a meeting inspirational talks are given by eloquent men, for example Dr. Coady or Professor MacDonald, with follow-ups by the parish priests and local leaders. Immediately after these meetings groups of from 5 to 15 organize themselves into study groups. The members then elect their own leader and meet once a week during the Fall and Winter. Since lack of credit at reasonable rates is almost universal throughout this area, and since the Credit Union is the most easily understood of all cooperative enterprises and the easiest to organize, most groups engage in a study of this subject. While studying they save 10-25 cents a week and thus accumulate the capital necessary to receive a charter from the province. At the same time they learn the value of thrift, prin-

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ciples of elementary finance and, more important, the control of their own credit. Engendered by the success of a credit union, and with some credit available as capital, the study group usually embarks on other enterprises such as the formation of a cooperative store or a lobster factory. Study might begin at any point in the economic circle, follow through credit, production etc., and then through the circle of related economic stages to the original starting place. Most study clubs and cooperative units which have not yet organized a cooperative store make cooperative purchases of their staples, tools, equipment etc., as well as purchases of dried fish, canned goods, milk, turkeys and meat from the neighboring cooperative producer groups. Various immediate problems and their cooperative solution are the concern of other groups—viz. health, medicine, women's problems, handicraft, insurance, electricity, housing, cooperative creameries, tanneries and colonization.[16]

The Extension Division of St. Francis Xavier University acts as a source of information to all these groups. The *Bulletin*, which is published bi-monthly, is studied by all groups. The paper, besides furnishing information on particular and general topics, acts as a unifying and motivating force for all. Mimeographed material, pamphlets and answers to specific questions are supplied on request. An open-shelf library and a traveling library, with 75 per cent of its books in constant use, supply the study clubs' members with a wide background and answers to numerous problems. Such authors as John Strachey, Norman Thomas, Henry Wallace, Stuart Chase, John Dewey, George Counts, are available. Very popular is the *New Russian Primer*.

Not content with the leaders that consistently develop from the study clubs, the Extension Division of St. Francis Xavier University grooms a number of these men as well as many others in the six-weeks leadership course which it conducts each year at the University. The Canadian government by sending 70 out of the 130 students enrolled in the present session (February-

[16] The *Bulletin* for Nov. 5 and Nov. 19, 1937, discusses the feasibility of occupying vacant farms.

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March 1938) adds testimony to the value of the work actually being accomplished.[17] Such courses as bookkeeping, elementary economics, history, principles of cooperation, community planning, public speaking, citizenship and the like are offered. For more advanced students special work is arranged.

Heretofore the radio and cinema have been used to some extent by St. Francis Xavier University to further cooperative activities among the people but it is now planning to use them as an integral part of its whole educational plan. According to Father Coady the topical arrangement of the *Bulletin* will evolve into a more formal lesson-plan arrangement with the inspiration supplied by the short radio talks and illustrations by the cinema. By such appealing study material the Extension Division should continue to arouse and sustain the interest of the people and by so doing will "mobilize their spiritual and intellectual powers for the purpose of attacking the problems that confront them."[18] It must be noted, however, that the Extension Division does not wish to perpetuate its directorship over the constantly expanding territory, to which the movement is spreading, but is laying plans for and is aiding in the set-up of institutions like itself. Such regional institutions will be better able to promote the work than an isolated group in a remote center.

The quantitative result,[19] when compared with the qualitative and immeasurable spiritual, intellectual and cultural results, which most students of the movement agree are more important, is remarkable and is no mean indication of the success with which the University is carrying on its work. The possibilities of the whole movement can be best estimated by the number of study clubs. From 173 clubs[20] in 1931 the number

[17] Coady, M. M., speech delivered in New York City, 2/25/38.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Statistics are not complete but indicate the progress in the main types of cooperative enterprises. The following statistics do not include Prince Edward Isle, with 4300 members, which in 1937 had 338 study clubs and 2 cooperative stores and in February, 1938, 26 credit unions. Complete statistics on New Brunswick and Newfoundland are unavailable but 32 credit unions in the former and several in the latter indicate a good start.

[20] St. F. X., *Educated for Action*, p. 52.

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increased to a peak of 1400 in 1937. The remarkable increase from 8 credit unions, which received their charters under the provisions of the Credit Union Law adopted by the 1932 legislature of Nova Scotia, to 120 with total assets of $500,000, is adequate proof that study clubs result in action. During 1937 credit unions did a loan business of $750,000. Their success seems all the more remarkable, considering that the majority of these unions are in rural fishing and farming communities where there is little cash income. Twenty thousand people in Nova Scotia alone are connected with the Credit Unions. In 1932 there were 2 cooperative stores; today there are 34. The approximate membership in these stores is 3500. The volume of business done during the past year was $1,062,879. The success of the three cooperative lobster canneries in 1932 has, no doubt, been responsible for the 16 that now serve the fishermen of 50 Nova Scotia communities. In 1937 their sale of fish products amounted to almost $250,000. They pack cooperatively, charter their own ships and sell a million pounds of lobsters a year directly to Boston and the great English cooperatives. Moreover many of the factories are used for the canning of blueberries, cranberries and other products.[21] It is estimated that through these and other cooperative enterprises more than 30,000 people are now connected with the entire movement,[22] a figure that covers over 15 per cent of the population of Antigonish, and consists, for the majority, of heads of families.

More scintillating than any parade of statistical figures and more indicative of the work actually accomplished is the story of some individual successful enterprises. A mining town (Reserve Mines) frequently the symbol of all that is utterly desolate, forlorn and hopeless, has embarked upon a housing project, and so enthusiastic have been the miners that a miniature, correct in every detail, of the envisioned development was expertly constructed by the men. In April of this year actual work will begin and 22 men, each with his one acre, will plan and work

[21] *Ibid.*
[22] Coady, M. M., Speech, *op. cit.*

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out his own rehabilitation. Louisdale, inhabited by farmers and fishermen, 75 per cent of whom were on relief in 1935, after studying the agricultural possibilities of this area began with potato farming. They collected 5-10 cents a week, advanced by successive steps from a credit union established in 1936 with 35 charter members and a capital of $40 to a membership of 170 and a share capital of $1800. After studying Consumers' Co-operatives 6 families cooperatively purchased 5 bags of flour. To-day a cooperative store doing a business of from $1200-1500 a month testifies to the success of the venture. In one year at Havre 100 fishermen, instead of relying on independent packers, sold their own products and profited to the extent of $10,800. The failure of the little community of Petit de Grat to study cooperative procedures before organizing a lobster factory led to some disloyalty at first, but with the introduction of study clubs this was overcome. By financing the purchase of supplies the credit union in this town effected savings of thousands of dollars. The price of gasoline has been reduced from 48 to 24 cents. Its cooperative store started in 1936 with a $31,000 turnover, $800 in patronage dividends and $1600 held in a reserve fund. Johnstown, a small agricultural settlement, before the advent of the credit union could not have raised $60, but since its inception the population have found money to save and now have $4000 on deposit. Aside from the monetary advantages they have won, the people in the town have acquired a brighter and more intelligent outlook. Organized rural groups from a number of communities of eastern Nova Scotia pooled resources and in 3 seasons were able to save $75,000 on orders of about 15,000 tons of fertilizer. Each year flour and feed are brought to them in a chartered boat from Lake Superior, with a saving of about $8000 on each shipload.

The women have not lagged behind in the movement that has so taken hold of their men. A study of diet in relation to health led to the establishment of canning cooperatives, which made available a supply of fruit and vegetables throughout the year. Discarded antique looms were dusted off and pressed into

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service and the products of the looms displayed at exhibits conducted by St. Francis Xavier Extension. Thus it was forcibly brought home to the people that solution of their economic problems lies in their ability to raise standards of living through supplying their own needs from materials produced on their own farms. Three hundred members of a group directed by Sister Marie Michael at Inverness made rugs, bedspreads, gloves, sweaters, hats etc. This normal feminine interest in handicrafts provided the incentive needed to bring the women together. Attempts to interest them in learning to read and write were at first met with passivity but this is gradually being overcome. They are being taught to take an active part in public meetings and to march forward step by step with the men in this great effort.

Though there has been some opposition on the part of vested interests it has in most instances been overcome. Many merchants pressed for payment of debts when their customers began to set up cooperative stores but in these cases the Credit Unions enabled their members to make their payments. Other merchants cut prices but in all cases, declares Professor MacDonald, the members remained loyal.[23] In some cases the cooperative has taken over the local enterprise. Large corporations in the industrial centers have shown no opposition to the movement. Since many of the study clubs are vocational in character and are being continually reminded[24] of the value of all types of organized effort, the contention of the manager of the Coady Credit Union in Reserve Mines seems logical—namely, that study clubs and credit unions are making better trade unionists. St. Francis Xavier University, thus, is quite confident of continued support from the trade unionist, who in the United States is a "hard rock to break."

The overwhelming success with which the University has carried on its program may be due to a number of reasons—the homogeneity of the population, economic conditions etc.—but

[23] MacCracken, G. W., *op. cit.*

[24] The bi-monthly issue of the *Bulletin* carries a page devoted to labor problems and is very definitely pro-labor union.

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it cannot be denied that basic to its success are: 1. The sound and progressive educational principles on which the plan is based: 2. The extremely intelligent leadership it possesses: 3. The cooperation between the priests in the diocese and the University[25] and more recently with the Protestant groups in the community.

Important as the plan is as a new technique in promoting the cooperative movement and obvious as is the value of such cooperative methods in solving our many economic, social and cultural ills, the plan suggests other, perhaps less obvious, considerations. The Catholic Church, which in the minds of many has been considered reactionary, in this instance has proven herself an instrument for progress and enlightened leadership. Recognition that *there is no Catholic way of catching fish* has broken down age-old prejudices. This knowledge better enables the Church to emancipate people from economic pressure in order to promote their spiritual well-being. By bringing up to date the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, by interpreting *harbor the harborless* concretely as a slum clearance or cooperative housing program, the little Catholic University of St. Francis Xavier is pointing the way not only for a truer democracy based on a wider control of property, ardently espoused by Pope Leo XIII, but is an example of the power for the economic, intellectual and spiritual rehabilitation that the Church and University can and should be.[26]

[25] It is frequently said that there is a lack of cooperation between order priests, e.g., Jesuits, Dominicans etc., who conduct most Catholic universities, and the secular priests who are for the most part the local curates. This may be due to a difference in superiors, in training, in purpose etc. St. Francis Xavier University, however, is conducted by secular priests and this promotes cooperation between the University and the parish priests.

[26] In a letter (Vatican City, March 8th, 1938) from Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, to Bishop James Morrison of Antigonish, the Apostolic Benediction of Pope Pius XI was bestowed on him and the members of St. Francis Xavier University for their admirable work in helping the people of this section of Nova Scotia to "better their lot in such a way that the full teachings of the Encyclicals, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadrigesimo Anno*, may be put into practice."

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The Unknowing Mind

A Study in the Dynamics of Ignorance

PAUL P. BUSHNELL

THE warfare with ignorance is generally assumed to be won, at least in America, and to be entering now the final "mopping up" and policing stages. Illiteracy is in full retreat even as a campus affectation. Indeed information is so much the vogue that open confessions of ignorance on any subject dare no longer be made except by those safe in the protection of an advanced degree. The wonders of science have testified to the wonders of the knowing human mind and in its glorious triumphs we feel secure in spite of the uncanny succession of perils which have beset us in recent years. It is inconceivable, too, that this mind is not at last on the verge of discovering how to harness its learning in some really tangible way for its own highest welfare and happiness. The irresistible dynamic of knowledge can certainly be trusted to delay no longer in taking this long-awaited step and perhaps even to enter the grisly international arena.

Unless there is a still stronger contrary dynamic, a more powerful *unknowing* mind. Anyone who would prick the bubble of popular complacency with doubts so heretical courts the double dangers of martyrdom for himself and a further demoralization for society. Yet despite appearances ignorance is not defeated, as we shall see, nor its ancient mastery over mankind even seriously threatened. Its true nature and power remain perfectly concealed, as ever, while scrutiny and suspicion are averted by granting the proud foe sops in the form of spectacular but empty gains. Actually ignorance is now stronger than ever in modern times, as our perils should have warned us. For instead of being routed by the dazzling cohorts of the new knowledge, as it has craftily pretended, ignorance has really

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been advancing stealthily and in increasing force right along beside them, through man's devious mental and emotional byways. There it meets no resistance, least of all from the scattered outposts of information sometimes encountered. The horrid fact of the matter is that ignorance in its more insidious forms (especially the *Systematic* and *Inspired* types, to be described) finds its control over the mind in no way embarrassed by the mind's possession of even the most extravagant profusion of facts. Its rule is secure, moreover, so long as it can continue to determine what will be done with those facts: which few will be built into the personality and which stored away for occasional display. Naturally the retention of this hegemony depends upon the ability of ignorance to remain incognito, thus avoiding effective attack. It is truly remarkable that in spite of its aggressions and victories this monster has always succeeded in being misrepresented as wholly passive and inert. Even teachers and others who have slung their pebbles against it at close range have been deceived, notwithstanding the consistent failure of the great mass of our students to assimilate knowledge and transmute it into wisdom and enlightened conduct.

Yes, ignorance has fooled us all. Far from being a mere negation and non-entity, the shadowy opposite of knowledge, it is almost always a positive thing having structure, variety, system, definite properties and a dynamic which diverts the most powerful energies of our subconscious selves to its own nefarious ends. We perhaps have language chiefly to thank for the protective obscurity which it enjoys. Probably in no tongue are there words and idioms in common use capable of adequately attaching the motion of aggressiveness to an act of not knowing. The first thing needed for the unmasking of ignorance, then, is a single positive verb meaning "not to know" and therefore able, when suitably modified, to illuminate in one piercing flash an entire cerebral chamber of ignorance and its ghostly occupants.

These chambers, by the way, are not at all the bare, desolate caverns which our lofty conscious selves have pictured them.

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On the contrary they are always furnished and maintained with a lavishness that testifies to their regular use as the favored dwelling places of the secondary selves, *alter ego's* and psychic entities which infest and largely direct the personality. This fact explains why epithets like "ignoramus" are almost always disappointing in their effect. Instead of evoking the satisfying response of meek humility, or better still of impotent rage, they merely draw superior, infuriating smiles. For ignorance, as such, is rarely acknowledged by the dominant conscious personality. That personage usually feels that he knows all he needs to know about the things he really wants to know—or wants to be credited with knowing. Other things he takes pride in not knowing. The same attitude is shown by nearly all human groups from gangs to nations. Each generally requires certain ignorances of its members—as of history, science, humane feeling or economics—as a mark of distinction and fitness for membership. How else could Nordic Myths and their like survive? This baffling, smug behavior is sure to provoke anyone who naively yields to the common temptation to take up vituperation and vilification as a serious, artistic pursuit.

There are many more ways of not knowing than of knowing a thing and they are much more significant to mankind. The knowing of a fact, for instance, may be clear, accurate or confident, or the reverse, and that is about all. But not knowing it may be anything within the repertoire of human behavior, such as patriotic, selfish, inspired, protective, strategic, sentimental, loyal, dogged or pious, as our analysis will show.

It is not so much what a man does not know as how and why he doesn't know it that matters. A simple, non-resistant lack of information, rarely encountered except among the very young and the uninterested, may readily be corrected, but not so the numerous dynamic varieties of ignorance or nescience. Their insidious compulsions cause a person to perceive one thing and to conceive it to be quite another, or else to fail to perceive it rightly in the first place if at all. These truths naturally cannot be popularized until an adequate terminology is developed.

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Fortunately the dictionary does give us a word, though now obsolete, eminently suitable for restoration and use in this aggressive sense: unknow. Thus we may say, "Tom Smith, the grocer's boy, does not know that a huge navy is not required by the purely defensive policy of this country." Why should he? This is a case of simple ignorance requiring only the conventional verb. On the other hand, "the naval tactician, with painstaking logic, unknows that such a navy is not required"—clearly an *act* of ignorance. Or again, "Mr. Brightside, the prolific writer and 'economist' for the popular magazines, did not know that the depression was coming." How could he? Writing leaves so little time for study and an optimist gets more applause anyway. But, "The bank's investment expert unknew it was coming, most persuasively."

This paper presents for the first time in history a classification of these neglected phenomena of not knowing and of dynamic or creative unknowing. It represents the outcome of a rigorous program of investigation conducted according to the severest canons of armchair research. Tentative and incomplete as it is it yet marks the beginning of the key, though paradoxical, science of nescience or unknowing.

The first of the four main types of ignorance, taking them in the ascending order of importance, is the simple and wholly negative one of popular repute. Without real social significance in this country it is included here only for the sake of completeness. It is *Virgin* ignorance. Plain and unassuming, it requires no explanation or excuse. Its resistance is nil. Commonly found in the early school grades it is soon displaced by the three aggressive types, those of unknowledge proper.

The second type is the *Organic*, so called because it is incorporated into the blood and personality, either at birth or at the breast. The two main varieties of it are the *Congenital* and the *Endemic*. The former is represented by tone-deafness, color-blindness and all mental and moral blindspots not otherwise to be accounted for. It is exhibited whenever a person's brain is taxed beyond the limit of its constitutional capacity and is con-

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spicuous among minor political appointees. *Temperamental* ignorance is a sub-variety whose victims temporarily unknow all that is uncongenial to their transient moods and passions. The *Endemic* variety is one that accrues to all members of a people. Our unknowledge of the beauty of Chinese music and the unknowledge of Orientals (and others whom it would be superfluous to name) about the ways of democracy are random examples. An important sub-variety is the *Sectarian.* This is revealed by smaller groups such as tribes, political parties and denominations, to whom their rivals' virtues, points of view and positive achievements must remain a mystery or an affront.

The third type is the *Systematic*, primarily rational, even intellectual by nature, very dynamic and especially rampant among the deeper cogitators. The deeper the hole they think themselves into the more they unknow about the extra-peripheral world. The *Academic* variety has long been noted for its unknowledge of human nature and the practical world of life and affairs. Thus in education it has clung historically to the view that the child is a miniature adult, that character is imparted through priggish moral precepts and that a true education can be imparted through the medium of language alone. *Specialized* ignorance is a dangerous sub-variety descriptive of the mentality of those, lacking in broad cultural background, who become so wrapt in their narrow specializations that they unknow the limitations thereof in the total scheme of things. Here belong our naval tactician, the behaviorists and, I fear, many Ph.D's. In this type of ignorance the *Empirical* is the variety best beloved of the common people. Because of its origin in hard, practical experience it is almost invincible. For it one swallow makes a summer. What has been will be. The proof is simply there and no argument avails. Examples are the "knowledge" of the inevitability of war and poverty on earth or of the miraculous powers of some patent medicine. Another variety, the *Strategic*, enables a man or group to unknow any fixed principles and therefore to extemporize them afresh with every shift in the winds of circumstance.

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The fourth type, that of *Inspired* ignorance, is produced exclusively by the emotional forces within the personality and is therefore highly aggressive. The *Doting* variety devotedly unknows all imperfections in its beloved, whether this be a son, a scheme or a soap. The *Protective* variety, an important one, provides an absolute defense against disturbing knowledge—such as that of how the other half lives or the limits of one's own abilities. Here too belong those of us—the great majority indeed—who unknow how far beyond the comprehension of any single individual is any one of the many social problems pressing for solution. With the dispelling of this form of unknowing will come a flood of overdue social researches into the most effective and democratic means of harnessing collective intelligence. An especially virulent sub-variety of the *Protective* is the *Smug*. With single-minded self-devotion it unknows any cause for questioning one's own motives or the paramount importance of one's own feelings. It is shown in our unknowledge of America's genuine insults and provocations to Japan. *Pious* ignorance, another sub-variety of historical importance but now on the wane, needs no description. A further variety is that of *Irrelevant* ignorance, one difficult to regard without some sympathy in spite of the havoc it causes in our schools. Here is the source of that rebellion against all instruction that seems remote, unreal, abstract and irrelevant to the real interests of the student. Some schools are reported to have eliminated it, though not without giving great offense to certain groups of unknowers.

Finally, there is *Ecstatic* or *Sublime* ignorance, exemplified by those enthusiasts who unknow basic practical or moral considerations. Men in its power build, or follow others who build, South Sea paradises, Mediterranean empires, economic utopias and totalitarian states, fervently unknowing the powerful, disruptive forces which will ultimately make a mockery of their grandiose ventures.

Crude as this preliminary report is, it may nevertheless serve to show the eventual world-shaking possibilities latent in an

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extension of these studies. Some swivel-chair (statistical) techniques will need to be added, of course, to placate some important groups of *Specialized* unknowers. There are, of course, many more things unknown to man than are known to him. Also, there are many more known things that any one man cannot know than he can know. Further, of those things which a man might know, there are more that the inner forces of ignorance do not permit him to know, as we have shown, than he is permitted to know. And of those things that are permitted, a man learns only a small part so well that they can actually influence thought and conduct. Again, of those things which are so learned most are quickly forgotten, either because no chance for practical application appears soon enough or because they were not so learned as to make such application easy or attractive. Finally, of those truths which are well learned and can be applied, the vast majority have no application to anything of real interest or importance to anyone, for those fields are invariably preempted by the unknowing mind.

That is not, however, a doctrine of despair but a summons to action, drastic action. Some of the forms this should take are already clear in essence, though most of the detail remains to be worked out. In our schools there should at least be release from the futile attempt to attack what appears to be a simple lack of information armed only with the routine paraphernalia of books, lessons, lectures, formal classes and recitations, broadcasts and all other set forms of piecemeal word-dosing, lethal to fullest mental vigor and self-realization. The unknowing mind threads its erring way among them untouched and unperturbed. A new strategy is required, based on sound dynamics. Should we not all be bold enough to start rebuilding our programs, as some have already done, so as to work as directly as possible with the vital motives, purposes and interests of all students, young or old, in the matrix of the whole personality?

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Unrepentant Liberalism

SHAILER MATHEWS

THOSE of us who are unrepentant liberals are sometimes bewildered at the criticism of those who we thought were our fellows. And we are quite as much confused about their claim to have a new orthodoxy. It is difficult to believe that they are using the term precisely, for, as any student of history would know, it has a perfectly definite content, decided by innumerable councils and expressed in numerous Confessions most of which, like the Westminster Confession, are still the basis of Protestant theology. Orthodoxy includes a belief in a literally infallible Bible, Adam's fall, original sin, total depravity and corruption of human nature, the incarnation of the second person of the Trinity through the virgin birth of Jesus, the torture of hell inescapable except to those who have been elected by God to enjoy the unmerited bliss of heaven, substitutionary atonement, physical resurrection, a return of Jesus from heaven to judge the quick and the dead, the Nicene Creed. There is nothing to argue that the representatives of Barthian theology would profess all these beliefs in any literal sense. They rather represent the pessimism expressed by orthodoxy as to human nature and a faith in a transcendental God who is revealed to the world through his Word—which to the Barthian is neither the literally infallible Bible nor the Christ of ecumenical creeds.

Personally I have little interest in the discussion of rival theologies. Doubtless they all represent certain elements of truth and serve to justify religious attitudes. But as expressions of social trends they may be significant. The Christian religion, historically considered, is a phase of Western civilization. It was organized by the same persons who organized states, waged wars, established industries and commerce and organized scientific investigation. If one would understand Christianity one

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must do more than accumulate doctrines. These must be seen as functional, the means by which a religious movement rationalized its attitudes and hopes by expressing them in the accustomed patterns of contemporary life.

Orthodoxy is not synonymous with truth. It is an authoritarian term, the belief of some dominant party able to enforce its decisions upon dissenting members of its group. Such decisions may or may not be truth. I should be the last to belittle historical orthodoxy when it is seen in the social milieu from which its patterns were drawn. As a rule its contents are more acceptable than the views its makers condemned. But ecclesiastical authority has never undertaken merely to persuade people to adopt its dogmas. Men have been coerced and even terrorized into conformity. A heresy is the belief of a defeated party. The State has repeatedly been called upon, even in Protestant countries, to make dogmas secure and non-conformist movements impotent. The theologians of orthodoxy have never questioned the presupposition that its dogmas depend upon supernatural revelation. Religious liberty and orthodoxy were incompatible until non-conformist minorities became too strong to be suppressed and, what is even more significant, the spirit of liberalism affected representatives of inherited orthodoxy.

The formulas of orthodoxy express permanent Christian values in a scenario in which the relations of man and God are expressed in the pattern of an unconstitutional state. The Biblical presentation of the dealings of God with man is quite as undemocratic as the imperialism of Augustine or the Calvinism which reflects the absolute monarchies of the 16th and 17th centuries. In all of its doctrines orthodoxy is a transcendentalized politics in which a subject humanity has no rights, is born condemned to eternal punishment because of the disobedience of its first parent to divine law, and its one supreme prayer to its divine sovereign is for mercy. Men have no power to do right except in the case of those who have been chosen by God to enjoy the pardon of their sins and have been given by him the ability to choose the right.

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The rise of constitutional monarchy and democracy made such a political pattern inappropriate for religious thinking. One had either to accept it on the basis of some authority (that is, become orthodox) or re-think Christianity in patterns derived from creative social trends. The great mass of Christian people preferred to hold to doctrines which they had agreed to accept as supernaturally delivered, but a considerable minority endeavored to find harmony between a Christian faith and their social experience. And thus liberalism in the modern sense of the word was born. It was the expression in theology of the new democratic movement. God, like the constitutional monarch, was judged to have duties as well as rights; and humanity, like the new nations, was judged to have rights as well as duties. The theological discussions of the early part of the 19th century were something more than theological quarrels. They represented a struggle of two social minds, one authoritarian, holding its religious interests independent of social change, and the other endeavoring to express the values of the Christian religion in patterns drawn from its own ideas of freedom and self-direction in political relations.

The historically-minded observer can see the social trends expressing themselves in today's theologies. As the struggle between the Nicene and Arian theologians presupposed a struggle between monotheism and polytheism, that between Augustianism and Pelagianism presupposed a conflict between conceptions of heredity shaped by imperialism and individualism, and that between Calvinism and Lutheranism presupposed a struggle between the rising capitalism of municipal life and the economic conservatism of small towns and country, so today's difference between theologians professing a new orthodoxy and liberals denying religious authoritarianism is a phase of the struggle between collectivism and democracy. The former group professedly move to the left socially and toward orthodoxy theologically. Such a tendency has been graphically expressed as "Forward to Moscow and back to sin."

At first glance this would seem to be a sort of ideological

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schizophrenia. One would think that liberalism in social theory would involve liberalism in theological thinking. But such first impressions are misleading. Now as in the past social attitudes, political and cultural experience, shape theological formulas. Whereas democracy holds to the worth of individuals and their capacity to organize social and political institutions, the collectivist movement assumes the incapacity of individuals so to act and makes a group, whether an economic class or a nation, an extreme end. In its theological aspect there is a contrast between a belief on the one hand in the ability of the individual to make love a way of cooperating with a still creative and approachable God, and a pessimism on the other hand which denies to humanity the ability to discover God in history.

It is easy to see, therefore, why a theology presupposing collectivism and rejecting democratic individualism should claim to be moving toward orthodoxy. For orthodoxy has the same pessimistic presupposition as to humanity and, in its Protestant form, the same belittling of "works," the same emphasis upon revelation, the same elevation of eschatological salvation and the same emphasis upon repentance as superior to cooperation with a God discoverable in the universe and human history.

It is, of course, true that this pessimism, whether in its Calvinistic or its modern Continental form, has not prevented its believers from engaging in social reform. Social pressure and economic sympathy lead men to actions which are logically inconsistent with a general attitude. But such inconsistency does not obscure the fact that this neo-orthodoxy is based upon Continental and particularly on current German despair of democracy with its belief in the worth of the individual. It apparently satisfies the distraught theologians of Europe. It will satisfy American theologians swayed by the same presupposition.

When one examines the liberal movement in detail it is clear that liberalism, like orthodoxy, can have a variety of applications. Here the dialectic method is likely to become algebraic. What we really need to consider are the concrete persons and activities which terms represent. Members of religious groups

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held together by some type of control are more significant than "orthodoxy" and liberals are more significant than "liberalism." A heretic is not necessarily a liberal. He may be quite as authoritarian as those who have condemned him. For repeatedly when such heretics have possessed authority they have set up a new orthodoxy and become as intolerant as those whom they have displaced. Few idealists have been able to resist the temptation to rely upon coercion when once they have got possession of political power. The great terrorists have been idealists. It is altogether too easy for men to let a good end justify a bad means.

One has only to recall the history of Christian communities under Constantine and his successors, the intolerance of Confessional churches under state control, the short-lived theocracy of the New England colonies to realize how true this statement is. But liberals that have sprung from the social and intellectual movements of the last century are something more and something less than heretics. They might be more strictly described as modernists—that is, those who wish to express the values of Christian faith and moral endeavor in terms of contemporary culture. As has already been noted, the first stirrings of modernism appeared before the development of modern science, and as in the case of deism and early Unitarianism naturally used the patterns of a constitutional monarchy. With the extension of scientific methods to the study of religion and the new appreciation of intellectual freedom and the worth of the individual, those who had broken from authoritarianism in religion gradually fell into two classes. One group had little interest in churches and more interest in the philosophy and history of religion. In a loose way they are represented by the World Congress of Liberals, to which belong some who are also associated with some ecclesiastical organization. Such a movement although not numerically large possesses an enthusiasm and a sense of mission which make even its humanist members evangelists.

Any criticism of liberalism ought to distinguish between this class of liberals, who are more concerned with religion in gen-

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eral than with Christianity in particular, and those who have maintained their relationship with the Christian churches. While they both spring from the same cultural process, and while the fate of both alike is inextricably joined with that of democracy, their participation in the organized religious life of their communities differs.

I may be colored by my own sympathies, yet it would seem that this type of non-ecclesiasticalness—to coin a term—is particularly liable to emphasize a negative attitude. Just as tolerance may sometimes be hardly more than indifference, so liberals who attempt to express interest in religion by breaking down theological fences may develop an attitude which seems opposite to faith. But such appearances are likely to be deceptive. A man is not a liberal when he disbelieves something that others believe, however these others may concentrate attention upon his denials. His very negative position may be the obverse of a positive reconstruction. If it is to be anything more than philosophical, however, such reconstruction cannot ignore the fact that a religion, as distinct from generic religion, is a form of social behavior. Institutions are as essential to a religion as a government is to a state. Historical-mindedness is more trustworthy than dialectics.

The charge that liberals have been indifferent to sin grows out of a dialectical rather than a factual reading of the literature of liberalism. It is born of the thought now regnant in the fascism and Marxism of the continent of Europe—that the individual gets his value through subjection to some group and that the hope of social progress lies in group coercion. I do not see how anyone can read the literature which those of us who pioneered the social gospel produced, and claim that we are indifferent to sin. We have not minimized repentance but we have been more interested—to use the Biblical expression—in "fruits meet for repentance." Habitual confession may become an introspective luxury. It may be that liberals have been too optimistic about human nature. It may be that they have too strongly emphasized freedom and duties rather than human

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frailties. But we will not confess that we have lost faith in a God discoverable in the universe and human history, or that we adopt the corollary of pessimism—that mass coercion is superior to love implemented by intelligence. We do not propose to make worship and communion a device for escaping social responsibility or an anodyne for our failure to cooperate with those cosmic activities with which we are organically connected. If we need theological formulas we will make them from human experience rather than from dialectical revelation.

A fundamental distinction between Christian liberalism and the so-called new orthodoxy is the difference between a dialectic and a social approach to a religion. A realistic regard for definitions inevitably moves toward abstract absolutes whereas a scientific method recognizes concrete facts and processes. Using the dialectic method, God by definition is essentially and qualitatively different from humanity. Using the social approach, God is to be seen in the creative process in nature and in human history. The pattern in which such a conception would be expressed is not that of conflict between two essentially different entities but that of the adjustment or maladjustment of an organism with its environment. Such a view necessitates historical-mindedness on the part of a theologian as well as a recognition of process in which conflict is not absent but in which progress is possible because of those personality-producing activities of the universe involved in the term God. Such a distinction is clearly germane to the distinction between the social presupposition of the self-directing democracy and that of the coercive collectivism. It is hardly more than rhetoric to set up an antithesis between the God of revelation and the God disclosed in nature and history, for the idea of a God as revelation is itself shaped by historical process.

The liberal's conception of process is described by its critics (to quote Professor Horton[1]) as a modernism which floats "blissfully down the stream of contemporary civilization, confident

[1] Horton, Walter M., "The New Orthodoxy," THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Vol. 7, No. 1., p. 11, Winter 1938.

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of the divinity, yea, the Christlikeness of its prevailing currents and the happiness of the condition toward which it is tending." It would be hard to show, I think, that liberal thinkers ever identified God with a contemporary social movement. It is also a misrepresentation to regard theological liberals as believing in evolution as an impersonal force which can be trusted to bring about a better world automatically. We certainly are not so simple-minded as that. The concept of process is not identical with that of progress, and for those who have any religious understanding of man's relation to the universe the possibility of conflict is quite as clear as any dialectic theologian could claim. But it is possible so to direct a social process as to further the worth of individuals, establish cooperative institutions and release social energies which work toward human well-being. The universe in disclosing intelligibility makes it possible to see love as the expression of its coordinating activities on the level of personality. From such a point of view human history and human nature are not data for dialectic pessimism but elements in a process in which cooperation despite conflict is essentially constructive. Whoever has that faith can criticize the social order and point out its evils without abandoning a confidence in the capacity of men at one with God to extend moral direction to group action. Such faith does not ignore the necessity of police or governmental control of social action, but it does not look upon such control as a conflict in which humanity can be treated as generically sinful or upon God as never cooperating with humanity in the creation of human values. Direction of a process is not a compromise with the world. It seeks to change the world. As liberals we believe in evolution because we know that those activities we call evolution are in the universe and, however conditioned by the new powers of self-direction within humanity, are still operating within it. We do not regard these activities as impersonal, however, but as responsive to personal adjustment and cooperation.

The critics of theological liberals have certainly not neglected the liberals' treatment of Jesus. The earlier stages of the liberal

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movement, with its abandonment of the anthropology (so-called) of orthodox theology, were inevitably driven into a rejection of orthodox Christology. By the middle of the 19th century the historical study of the Gospels caused Jesus to step from the frame in which the theologians had placed him. Thorough-going historical method made the Jesus of the Gospels quite other than the Christ of orthodoxy, but the negative results of such study were less significant than the new interest in Jesus' teaching. At first the interpretation of his words and ideas was undoubtedly affected by the idealism of its exponents. But even when the force of historical method convinced students that he shared views current among his contemporaries, his personality and spirit became the center of loyalty for those who were only incidentally interested in post-mortem life and very much concerned about better conditions for human life here and now. As the doctrinal interest in Jesus as the incarnation of the second person of the Trinity was subordinated to his teaching and experience of the divine, he himself as a historical person dramatized in an exemplary way this profoundly religious basis for morals. To those who took him seriously, love seemed a practicable basis on which to build a human society because God is love.

Perhaps the criticism passed upon those of us who undertook thus to estimate the moral and religious significance of Jesus with historical honesty was justified; perhaps in our early interpretations he did become a lay figure upon which we could hang our ideals. But such criticism does not seem at the present time altogether justifiable, in view of the more recent treatments of Jesus by those possessed of a historical rather than an apologetic spirit. Even if it were true that we were at the start tempted to modernize Jesus—a temptation which we have learned to withstand—it cannot be denied that such treatment of Jesus has given him a position in idealistic morality that was never given him by the strictly theological presentation. The ideals we attached to him were born of the religious movement which he inaugurated. By understanding his relationship to the

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thought and customs of his age we have felt a new imperative in his spirit. However naive may have been some of the efforts made to express this spirit in modern society, the total effect of the historical interpretation has been to introduce Jesus as a disturbing element in an acquisitive and pleasure-seeking world. In saying to him, "Lord, Lord," we have endeavored as intelligently as possible to see what his teaching means when applied to conditions with which he was quite unacquainted. The vanishing point of faith in him is, therefore, not Christological definition but individual and social morality upon a religious basis. It faces human wrong-doing with courage and a conviction, born of the faith evoked by his experience and teaching, that if men are prepared to sacrifice the lesser for the greater good they can, by conformity with the divine will of love, carry forward personal well-being.

The liberals within the evangelical groups might better be described as modernists. As I know them they are less interested in rejecting the Confessional orthodoxy upon which their respective denominations have been founded than in setting forth the lasting values of the Christian movement in patterns drawn from our modern world. Just as the Messianic movement of Palestine became the Christian religion of Western Europe, reflecting in its formulas the dominant social mind of successive periods in Occidental history, so the modernist type of liberalism is endeavoring to adjust to the modern situation the values which the Christian movement has preserved. In so doing it is only common sense to recognize the new tensions resulting from social change and to meet them by re-expressing permanent Christian values in terms and patterns derived from our modern world. Its theology becomes functional but no more functional than was the doctrine of the Trinity in a polytheistic Greco-Roman world, or the doctrine of the Catholic Church in an imperial world, or the Anselmic doctrine of atonement in a feudal world. Such a theological attitude sees that the orthodox formulas functioned well but it believes that a different theology will function better now among those responsive to the

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freedom and cooperation of democracy. Nationalism is already shaping up its rival to such a Christianity.

How influential this new attitude is must be apparent to anyone working within religious groups rather than playing the part of a critical observer. It requires no argument to show that the Christian movement is not as effective as absolute idealism would demand. All Christian reforms would be easy if it were not for Christians. A properly directed process which intelligently embodies Christian attitudes in the various departments of life may be trusted to work out its own ideals. We may not know where we are going but we know the direction of the way we follow—on to a social organization that shall guarantee more value to individual life. And the basis for making the necessary readjustments and sacrifices which such process involves will be the Christian's conviction that love is a practicable basis upon which to build a social order, because God is love.

The real distinction between a pervasive liberalism and a belligerent orthodoxy is to be measured not so much by doctrinal fulminations as by the interests of the two parties. Speaking generally, this difference may be described as that between those who make salvation depend upon acceptance of truth and those who would implement the Christian attitudes with scientific knowledge. It is easier to promise salvation than to give justice. It is also easier to sway ignorant masses by fear than to direct them by reason. It is, therefore, not strange that the liberal churches, now that the era of controversy is closing, should lack something of the solidarity that controversy begets and that denunciation makes vociferous. Liberals have been too busy urging the dynamic resources of Christianity to want to organize division within its followers. Rather than irritate those who are their Christian brethren they would prefer to work with them for those ideals which they all profess. They have no system to champion, no authority to enforce.

This abandonment of the theological arena may very easily be mistaken for retreat but it is not. There have been, one must regretfully say, those who have abandoned their early liberalism

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in the interest of ecclesiastical security but they do not represent any general movement. The general movement is to be seen, rather, in the breaking down of denominational barriers, the new sense of Christian unity, the change of emphasis from doctrinal precision to ethical seriousness, from hostility toward scientific thought toward appropriation of scientific method for religious thought. Liberalism has become a ferment in the churches. As in all processes of development the result is differentiation rather than schism. In liberalism lies the hope that a larger proportion of the churches of tomorrow may appeal to those members of the community who are committed to scientific findings and the direction of social change. It must be admitted that such an appeal is as yet incomplete. The pressure of ecclesiastical authority and the subordination of intelligent ethics to orthodoxy still serve to force liberal-minded persons out from too many churches. In consequence they find their social interest in the support of charitable, remedial and reforming agencies in which there is expert direction.

Theological discussion seems almost inevitably to evoke the sadism of human hearts. Sometimes this has gone to the length of burning people at the stake. In our days it is more gentlemanly. At its worst it can only leave a member of a condemned race to the sufferings of hell or, among the academicians, hurl rhetorical weapons like epigrams and vocabularies. I certainly do not wish to join in any vestigial Inquisition. The adoption of Continental pessimism with its belittling of humanity, the philosophical confusion which arises from the depreciation of a rational approach to cosmic activity, the substitution of dialectic for genuine historical method, do not obscure the fact that for practical purposes the representatives of the new orthodoxy are liberals as truly as those whom they criticize. The difference between their new orthodoxy and evangelical liberalism, in so far as it is more than verbal, is the difference between two movements which reflect different social trends and adopt different methods to reach the same moral and religious ends.

As modernists some of us have attempted—how successfully

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I would not venture to say—to set forth a method for evaluating orthodoxy and expressing its Christian values. Such a method is inductive rather than metaphysical. Its interpretation of history is found in the study of ascertainable facts and processes rather than in a dialectic superimposed upon history. It uses social psychology as a means of discovering the permanent values of the Christian religion as they were expressed in the patterns of successive social orders. It does not, therefore, make a sharp distinction between a God of revelation and the God discoverable in nature and in the experience of those who organized the Christian religion. In so doing it makes the Christian religion superior to any orthodoxy, new or old. But it preserves and re-applies to the democratic process the values which have been expressed in orthodoxy. It has, therefore, a message of courage and hopefulness for a world filled with the struggle between those who deny and those who affirm the Christian values which orthodoxy has both expressed and obscured.

A creative and rationally defensible Christianity is superior to party alignments and theological groupings. It would seem, therefore, that the path of wisdom lies in the recognition of a common endeavor to make Christianity a ferment in our modern world. The particular form it will take will be set today as in the past by creative social trends. In the light of the experience of the past it is certain that where these social trends vary the form taken by Christianity will vary. But such a variation ought to be regarded as an aspect of social process rather than as final. Those who, having broken with formal orthodoxy, are affected by these variations should not magnify their differences. Religious freedom, justice in the enjoyment of privilege, morality based upon the will of a God who is more than men's ideas of him, a loyalty to the spirit of Jesus which will be ready to oppose as well as to direct social trends and institutions, are their common possessions. What a tragedy should they repeat the 4th century mistakes and, while civilization is threatened by disruption, should quarrel over ways of proving what they all believe!

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Taxes That Retard Savings?

WILLIAM J. SHULTZ

SOME of the writings of the 17th century on taxes suggest that a tax which destroys "wealth" or a tax which directly reduces or indirectly discourages current savings, which would otherwise be transformed into capital, is a bad tax. Economic progress, it was argued, depends upon the maintenance of capital and its buildup through savings, and therefore a tax which reduces either wealth or savings impedes economic progress.

This idea became practically a canon for the 19th-century writers on taxation. Inheritance taxes were flatly condemned by many writers for "destroying" wealth; occasionally the same objection was expressed to high property tax rates. Taxes applying to investment income were placed under the ban of disapproval on the ground that they discouraged saving by reducing the return on investment. Taxes on business were frequently condemned on the same basis. Had a proposal for a specific tax on savings ever been raised it would have been anathematized.

Tag ends of these doctrines still appear in current tax literature. Inheritance taxes are still occasionally charged with "destroying" wealth. The high rates of the federal personal income tax, and the capital gains tax generally, are criticized for discouraging savings and investment. And the 1936 undistributed profits tax, which was in a way a specific tax on one form of saving—corporate saving—was subjected to such a hurricance of abuse for this reason that it barely escaped abolition this spring and survived only in emasculated form.

Before proceeding to the issue of whether taxes that reduce capital and savings are good or bad let us see how our present American tax system affects capital and savings.

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We may eliminate at a stroke the old idea that a tax can "destroy" capital or wealth. Under no form of tax does a federal, state or local government take buildings or machines or stretches of improved land from taxpayers and dissipate them in the course of its current operations. Taxes may be levied on or may be measured by various capital items but they are paid in money. Usually they are paid out of an individual's or a business concern's current income—current income derived from the taxed property or, that being insufficient, from other current income received by the individual or concern. If current income is insufficient to cover such a tax, as may happen in the case of an inheritance or estate tax, then part of the property must be sold to provide funds for the tax. The capital properties may acquire new owners but their substance stands unchanged.

Our real inquiry is this: do taxes reduce savings which might otherwise be used in the creation of additional capital property. Here the answer is "Yes." Indirectly many of our American taxes prevent or reduce savings. When part of an estate is sold to provide funds for federal and state death taxes the purchasers do their buying with accumulated savings. These savings are transferred to the estate and in turn transferred to the taxing governments. When a man with a $1,000,000 income pays a $680,000 income tax to the federal government he probably surrenders funds he would otherwise have saved and reinvested. When the federal corporation income tax takes 15 per cent of the net income of a large corporation it reduces either the amount which the corporation would have covered into surplus and thereby saved or which it might have paid in dividends to shareholders, who would then have saved and reinvested some part of them. When an undistributed profits tax induces a corporation to pay out in extra dividends income that would otherwise have been covered into surplus and saved it certainly reduces savings, because many of the shareholders who receive extra dividends will spend some part of them upon consumption items.

We may generalize the effects of our American taxes upon current savings as follows:

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1. Taxes like estate and inheritance taxes which amount to more than a year's income on the property on which they are imposed, and which therefore involve a sale of capital assets, definitely absorb savings —the savings of the purchasers.

2. Taxes like the progressive income tax, the capital gains tax and the federal yacht tax, which are paid primarily by people with large incomes, also reduce current savings. In general the consumption expenditures of individuals with large incomes are relatively inflexible, being determined by their personal tastes and established standards of living. The difference between their consumption expenditures and their total incomes is saved and reinvested, if only because there is nothing else to do with it. Anything—in this case taxes—that reduces the total net income reduces the margin saved.

This situation is in marked contrast to the practice of individuals in the lower and middle income groups. They are likely to establish relatively inflexible savings budgets. Direct taxes that reduce their total income, or shifted taxes that raise the prices of the goods and services they buy, result in a reduction of their expenditures—not of their savings. And when we come to the poorest poor who live from hand to mouth and have no margin of savings, obviously any shifted tax that rests upon them can have no effect whatsoever upon savings.

3. Business taxes which can be shifted into the prices and rates charged by the taxed concerns bear primarily upon the lowest and middle income groups because of their predominating numbers, and therefore do little to reduce savings. But net income and other business taxes which cannot be shifted and which reduce the net profits of the taxed concerns bear primarily on individuals in the higher income classes since they are predominantly the owners in equity of the taxed concerns. Consequently such nonshiftable business taxes are likely to reduce savings.

4. Any tax specifically upon the process of saving will of course reduce savings. If the saving is nonetheless carried through despite the tax its amount is lower by whatever has been paid to the government. Or if the existence of the tax prevents the saving, again we have a smaller saving. The outstanding American example of this type of tax is the undistributed profits tax.

There is no method of calculation available whereby we can divide the annual $10,000,000,000 of American tax collections into Part A which reduces savings and Part B which reduces consumption expenditure. Taking into account the proportions of this $10,000,000,000 raised from different types of

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taxes we may generalize roughly that a large fraction of the $10,000,000,000, but something less than half, represents taxes which have an adverse effect upon savings.

Let us suppose for a moment that all savings were automatically transmuted into capital property. On this assumption could we adopt the classical position and condemn all those taxes that reduce saving? No. We should still be faced by the proposition established by the school of writers deriving their inspiration from John A. Hobson: that creation of capital properties may outrun the capacity of consumers, with the income at their disposal, to absorb the output of these capital properties—the overproduction-underconsumption argument that was given wide currency as an explanation of the 1929-1933 recession. With various qualifications written into it most economists now accord this proposition an established place among the factors generating the business cycle.

If we allow at all that at certain times the creation of capital properties may proceed at too rapid a pace a first breach is made in the argument against taxes that reduce savings. The reduction of savings by taxation, under this assumption, may check only an *over*production of capital goods. And since, apparently, some overproduction of capital goods occurred during the 1920's in spite of the savings-reducing taxes then in effect we might fairly conclude that those savings-reducing taxes struck only at *over*production, and not at *necessary* production, of capital properties.

But recent researches shed a new and surprising light on the relationship between saving and the formation of national capital, and by inference upon the effects of taxes that reduce savings. At a rough estimate individual and corporate savings from 1922 through 1929 amounted to $115,000,000,000. Approximately $50,000,000,000 went into home building and farm improvement. Another $10,000,000,000 was lent, through the buying of bonds, to state and local governments and was

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transformed into non-business capital. The remaining $55,000,000,000 was available to business for the creation of new business capital. But business did not want all of it! Business executives were not enlarging their establishments and buying new machines and equipment simply because capital was available for such purposes. Capital expansion was undertaken, rather, on the basis of the probability of consumer-market expansion. And consumption expenditures were expanding less rapidly than savings. Business capital from 1922 to 1929 was increased by only $41,000,000,000, and $9,000,000,000 of this amount came not from individual and corporate savings but from investment credit created by the commercial banks. Business took only $32,000,000,000 of the $55,000,000,000 of available savings. What happened to the $23,000,000,000 of "excess" savings?

Foreign investment provided a partial safety valve for excess savings during the 1920's. Approximately $10,000,000,000 of of our excess free capital was drained abroad between 1922 and 1929. But $13,000,000,000 remained in this country. It was not "sterilized" or "quarantined" as the federal government is now "sterilizing" excess bank reserves by doubling the reserve ratio and by buying up gold imports and paying for them with bonds. This $13,000,000,000 of excess savings sought investment placement. New "productive" properties and security issues were not to be had. The only recourse was the purchase of existing properties or outstanding securities upon the open market.

Of course whenever one individual buys outstanding properties or securities another individual must sell them. Whatever new purchasing funds flow into the market must flow out in the form of payment to the sellers. In a rising market the prices received by the sellers represent in part the return of their original investment and in part a profit—a capital gain. In most cases, part or all of the profit is treated by the sellers as income—a special element of income that may be devoted to the buying of luxury items. The "original investment return" received by the

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sellers is normally reinvested by purchasing other properties and securities—which means still another group of sellers and still another set of capital gain profits to be expended upon luxury purchases. Eventually, through the endless chain of property and security buying and selling, the $13,000,000,000 of excess savings that forced themselves into outstanding properties and securities during the 1920's were transmuted into profits on security trading and became an item of consumption expenditure.[1]

At first glance this translation of nominal saving into actual consumption expenditure would appear to be a healthful, economic process—a sort of mechanical self-correction of oversaving that restores the equilibrium between savings and consumption expenditure. Apparently the business world converts into capital only such part of the annual national savings as it can soundly use and the investment market converts the remainder back into consumption expenditure. As a consequence of A's oversaving, B indulges in expenditure which otherwise he would have foregone.

But this conversion of excess savings into consumption expenditure is accomplished through a write-up of capital values. When A's excess savings buy stocks or bonds or real estate from B, the transaction is effected at a higher price than B originally paid for the property. True, this purchase-sale write-up of capital values applies directly only to the small margin of securities and properties that enter into actual trading. The predominant mass of security and real estate values is held by the owners year

[1] The above discussion presents, of course, an over-simplified analysis of investment economics. No mention has been made of refunding or reorganization financing, of investment by commercial banks which to a large extent manufacture the credit wherewith they make their investment purchases, or of "call" lending by commercial banks and other institutions. All three of these factors and other less important ones must be given due consideration in an analysis of investment economics, but they do not modify the conclusions on the effects of excess savings that are presented here. Refunding and reorganization financing affect neither the demand for nor the supply of new investment capital. In periods of expanding investment and speculative activity, commercial bank investment and "call" lending operate like excess savings to produce an extra supply of investment capital seeking placement; in periods of market recession, contraction of commercial bank investment and of "call" loans has a contrary effect. These other factors may complement or offset the effects of excess savings but they do not change them.

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after year and changes hands only once in a generation. But indirectly the values of all these untraded properties and securities are determined by the prices established for the small margin that enters into current trading. Excess savings, by forcing up prices for the small traded margin, also force up "paper" values for all properties and securities. This is capital inflation.

For so long as it operates, capital inflation enjoys emphatic popular approval. No holder of a few shares of U. S. Steel or General Motors objects to seeing the Exchange quotations rise day after day, week after week, month after month. No building owner objects when surrounding properties bring successively higher prices as they are sold in the course of the months or the years. But popular satisfaction is no indication of economic soundness. We should realize that capital inflation is one of the most dangerous generating factors of cyclical "booms" and consequently an aggravator of the subsequent collapses.

In the first place an inflationary rise in capital values is likely to set off a speculative mania. Millions, literally, of butchers, bakers and candlestick-makers are persuaded to make their little market "plunges," all on the bull side, thereby adding to the already-existing inflation. These "little" speculators almost invariably trade upon the thinnest margins obtainable and thus bring billions of dollars of "call" money onto the markets to add yet another inflationary element. In the last stages of such an inflationary upswing of security prices the speculative temper becomes nervous, alert for a possible "corrective recession," (as indicated by the honeycombing of the markets with stop-loss orders); thus the ground is prepared for a catastrophic collapse in the speculative markets which in turn can set off a general recession. In the second place capital inflation is likely to breed commercial credit inflation. The inflationary ballooning of capital values is generally unrelated to the earnings of the properties whose paper prices are being written up. Consequently yield rates tend to fall. Frequently they carry commercial interest rates down with them, thereby inducing an additional expansion

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of commercial loans. In this connection higher security values provide a wider base for "secured" bank loans. In the third place the illusion of prosperity created by capital inflation may well induce the business world to embark upon an expansion of capital plant and equipment not warranted by general consumption demand. What excess savings could not accomplish directly may thus be brought on indirectly through capital inflation. The stage is set for an overproduction-underconsumption situation like that discussed by the Hobson school of economists. Finally, we may note that corporations issuing bonds, and property owners incurring mortgage loans, establish such debt against inflated equity values. So long as the boom continues, the equity coverage of the debt may appear sound. But when recession comes this equity coverage is discovered to be illusory. The debt standing against the corporation or the property proves larger than the deflated value of the enterprise or property. Failure with all its depressive concomitants results.

Here is a severe indictment against "excess" savings. As yet, however, we have insufficient evidence to establish a conviction. We may say that excessive saving during the 1920's was an important generative factor of the 1929-1933 recession. We can not make the same charge for any period prior to the World War: indeed such evidence as we have would indicate that up to 1914, at least, creation of capital property in the United States tended constantly to run beyond national savings, with the difference made up by importation of foreign capital. During the War years, of course, a rigid repression of consumption expenditure could not give the federal government and industry as much in the way of funds as they could have used. Again, no clear picture can be drawn, out of the financial confusion of the past five years, about the relation between savings and business demands for new capital. Various frictions have been present upon the capital market—frictions created by federal legislation on security issue and trading and frictions created by the uncertain international and national outlook—which have pre-

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vented effective translation of savings into business capital. Individual business firms have wanted to undertake capital expansion, and savings have been available for placement, but the two could not be brought together. There is evidence of capital inflation during 1936 and part of 1937 but it is an open question whether this was produced by excess savings or by savings which business needed but could not reach.

We do not have, then, a hard and fast case against "excess" savings as Economic Public Enemy Number 1. But at least we have sufficient evidence to shake the classical canon that the savings of today are the capital of tomorrow. Have we not thereby shaken likewise the fiscal canon that a tax which reduces or retards saving automatically checks capital growth and injures economic progress? May it not be quite as possible that a tax which reduces or retards saving, checks capital inflation and thereby smooths out the "business cycle" and furthers economic progress? This proposition was foreshadowed in Harold Moulton's *Income and Economic Progress* (Brookings Institution, 1935), was sketched in broad outline in my own *Your Taxes* (Doubleday, Doran, 1938) and was analyzed at fuller length in Gerhard Colm's and Fritz Lehmann's *Economic Consequences of Recent American Tax Policy* (New School for Social Research, 1938).

Having established the proposition that taxes which check saving need not necessarily be harmful, may indeed be distinctly beneficial to the national economy, can we proceed a step further and recommend that undistributed profits taxes, high estate taxes and sharply progressive income taxes be levied specifically for the purpose of retarding saving? Here we tread on delicate ground.

Many leading writers on taxation flatly denounce "regulatory" taxes—taxes levied with any other purpose in mind than the production of revenue. There is no real argument to be developed on either side of this issue. The debate narrows down to the categorical statement on one side that regulatory taxation

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is wrong and on the other side that it is right. Without regard to the argumentation *pro* and *con*, American legislatures do enact regulatory taxes. The protective tariff is a long-standing example. Since 1865 a state bank-note tax has been on the federal statute books, producing no revenue whatsoever but serving to suppress the issue and circulation of state bank notes. Sales of narcotics and of machine guns are taxed at prohibitory rates. The states and the federal government impose taxes on the manufacture of oleomargarine to prevent it from competing with butter. And within the past few years we have seen the rise of the chain store tax, intended to bulwark independent dealers against the competition of the chains. Popular opinion shows no resentment against regulation by taxation. And since the scholars can offer only arbitrary personal prejudice on either side of the case, *vox populi* is as good a *vox dei* as any other.

But even if we accept the idea of regulatory taxation we do not have an unquestionable case for the imposition of savings-retarding taxes. Analysis of excess savings and their effects is still in the preliminary stage. We know enough to be able to say that the old denunciation of savings-retarding taxes can no longer be accepted without question. There is not as yet sufficient evidence to recommend such taxes. The case against undistributed profits taxation, capital gains taxation, death taxation and sharply progressive income taxation on the ground that they retard saving must be dismissed; but we have not yet established a clear "regulatory" case for them.

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Music Gets the Run-Around

HENRY S. DRINKER, JR.

MUSIC is not receiving from our educators the attention to which its prominence as a factor in modern cultural life entitles it. This neglect is due partly to academic inertia but principally to two misconceptions, entertained by an extraordinary number of intelligent people (including many musically illiterate educators), which prevent a proper understanding of the function of music as a cultural study and activity.

In the first place many fail to realize the fundamental difference between the knowledge and mastery of music on the one hand as an intellectual and cultural achievement, and mere proficiency on the other hand in playing skilfully on a musical instrument. Everyone will recognize this distinction without hesitation when it is called to his attention. Many will find, however, that in a practical approach to matters musical they confuse the understanding of music with the performance of it. No one ever makes a similar mistake with literature—confusing the real understanding of books with mere skill in elocution, in reading aloud or in dramatic representation. In considering instruction in music educators should apply the analogy of literature, where they are already on firm ground. Unwillingness to advocate college courses in elocution or acting in no way affects their conviction that the understanding and appreciation of literature is one of the essential factors in a cultural education. Similarly the acknowledged unfitness of the colleges to give training in specialized musical performance or in voice production in no way minimizes their duty to afford education in the intellectual and cultural aspects of music or to recognize these for entrance credit.

One recalls the English Don's reason for the emphasis in

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the Public Schools on the study of Latin as a cultural attainment. Suppose, he said, that an African explorer in making his way through the jungle rounded a mimosa tree or some other appropriate piece of equatorial vegetation and met a stranger. If the latter greeted him with a line of Horace he would at once recognize him, despite his uncouth attire, as a cultured gentleman. May one not suggest that the singing or even whistling of the principal theme of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony would afford at least as reliable a test, available at an even greater distance?

In thus emphasizing the distinction between the understanding of music and its performance one must not for a moment overlook the fact that an active participation in music by amateurs is not only conducive, but essential, to its intelligent understanding. The maximum pleasure and satisfaction is attainable only by feeling the music actually tingle in one's own throat or through one's own arms and fingers. As applied to music the passive and sterile word "appreciation" is inadequate. The better word is "understanding," for which actual participation is essential.

The kind of performance sufficient for an understanding of music by the amateur performer differs completely, however, from that required for the enlightenment or entertainment of others. The latter is attainable only by the few endowed by nature with the vocal organs necessary to produce a beautiful voice or with the rare gift of digital dexterity and muscular coordination essential to a great instrumentalist. These are developed through a lifetime of concentrated application and are therefore possible only to a professional, whereas any amateur can readily learn to sing adequately in a chorus, to play an instrument in an ensemble or orchestra or to browse through great music alone at the piano.

The proper function of the colleges is not to teach the specialized skills required for the public performance of music, which should be confined to the music schools, but to educate students to understand the masterpieces of musical literature—

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which, in the musical laboratories provided by the college orchestras, ensemble groups and choral societies they should perform together just as they read and learn to understand the plays of Shakespeare. The rudiments of music basic to this laboratory work in music should be learned in school, along with the ability to read and to add, subtract and multiply.

The second prevalent misconception, with regard to music, is the idea that an intimate understanding of music and a personal experience with it, are mysterious divine gifts restricted to the chosen few and denied to the many, who must content themselves with listening to music made by others. Such is not, however, the case. Although ability to become a successful public performer of music is indeed rare, the ability to understand, enjoy and participate in good music is inherently as general as the ability to read and enjoy good literature. Extensive tests, conducted over a decade with the public school population of Minneapolis, Cleveland, Kansas City, Cincinnati and other midwestern cities—covering *all* the children and not merely those supposedly "musical"—have shown conclusively that 39 normal children in 40 can readily be taught, by the time they reach the third grade, to sing in tune and to read notes at sight from the printed page. In the case of the exceptional one in 40 the difficulty is often physical—eye-sight or throat defects—and has been found to be remediable by further intelligent measures. Mother Stevens, who has successfully carried out a splendid work at the Pius X School in New York in teaching children to sing, states without qualification that with intelligent teaching no child can escape learning to read vocal music at sight.

The ability to attain musical literacy—to learn to read music at sight and to reproduce it with the voice or to write it on hearing—is inherent in every normal person. Music is essentially a language. Like any other language it can be acquired with a minimum of effort prior to adolescence. After maturity its mastery becomes increasingly difficult.

We often speak of the signing of Magna Carta. That famous document had on it not a single signature. King John merely

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affixed his seal, as did the barons and nobles, for the reason that practically none of them was able to write his name. Literacy was not then considered one of the essential attributes of a cultured gentleman. How many of the kings and nobles of our cultured world today—the presidents and professors of our college faculties—are able to read and write the language of music? How many fully realize what an important source of pleasure and satisfaction it would be to the students with whose education they are charged if, as students, they could acquire musical literacy, so that those who developed an urge for serious music could go on with it, after graduation, with effective intelligence?

It is indeed extraordinary that despite the obvious importance of music in normal modern life, despite the superiority of our modern educational methods and the current insistence that young people be instructed in everything which may be of any conceivable use to them in post-graduate life, the present proportion of cultured people who are musically literate is apparently far less than it was in Queen Elizabeth's time, when this accomplishment was generally recognized as one of the necessary attainments of "The Compleat Gentleman." The book bearing this title, published by Henry Peacham in 1623, devoted a whole chapter to "Musick," recognizing the ability to read vocal music at sight as a normal accomplishment of every gentleman. The absurdity of acquiring culture second-hand again takes us back to an analogy to literature:

> "Readin' any good books lately?"
> "I don't read no books. If a book makes
> the grade it gets in the movies."

Yet how many lovers of music are today getting all their music in a similarly vicarious manner?

The opportunity for the normal child to become musically literate, to acquire reasonable proficiency in using the language of music for his personal pleasure and musical experience, is physically open to 39 children out of 40. On the other hand

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if we are thinking of a successful career as a public performer the figures are apparently reversed. *The Readers' Digest* for January 1937 contained a summarized account of the tests devised by Dr. Carl Seashore and conducted under his supervision at the University of Iowa and at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester. These tests purport to show that only one music student out of about 40 possesses the inherent qualifications—muscular as well as intellectual and esthetic—which would warrant his undertaking a musical career. It is astonishing, however, to find how many of those who read this article received the wholly erroneous impression that less than 3 per cent of our normal people are musical, whereas the tests really indicated that no more than about 3 per cent are equipped to undertake a professional career in musical performance. Doubtless similar tests would point to at least an equally small proportion of potential professional golf or tennis players but should this at all deter the other 97 per cent from learning to play these games for their own enjoyment? Obviously the one person in 40 who is by nature fitted for a career in musical performance should look for his musical training not to the colleges but to the music schools which are thoroughly equipped for the purpose. What, however, is to become of the other 39 who need intimacy with good music as part of their cultural equipment just as they need intimacy with good literature? Clearly these 39 should get this knowledge and understanding from the schools and colleges, which, for the most part, are not at present giving it to them!

To what phases, then, of music should college courses be directed and how extensive should such courses be? The answer has been suggested. Courses in music in a liberal arts college should be precisely analogous to those in any other language. Assuming musical literacy already acquired in the schools, these courses should cover the history of music and the structure of its various forms, and should aim at an ultimate and intimate understanding of the masterpieces of musical literature, supplemented by laboratory work in the college orchestras,

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ensemble groups and choral societies. Such courses are already found in a number of colleges. In others they are strikingly inferior to the courses in English or foreign literature.

It is perhaps but natural that faculties composed of professors of the accepted subjects should instinctively resent the possible chiselling of their already slender budgets to provide for a new subject. Somehow such provision must be made, however, since the ever-increasing interest in music and the resultant demand for a knowledge and understanding of it must be recognized. At a not very distant date the cantatas of Bach should occupy a place in college curricula comparable to that accorded the works of Goethe, Dante and Shakespeare.

Because of a similar faulty sense of proportion regarding the place music should occupy in a cultural curriculum our colleges fail to give entrance credit for work in the intellectual phases of musical development. Does anyone contend that in the normal life of the average well-rounded person of today good music plays a part less important than conversation or literature in Spanish or Italian or for that matter in French or German? Or that to such a person the knowledge and scholarly understanding of music is of less cultural value than the moderate mastery of these languages which our colleges aim to give? Is there then any valid reason—in view of the great and growing interest in music and in its possibilities for enriching post-graduate life—that music should not be given, for entrance to a liberal arts course, a status equal to that of any foreign language? It is not given such credit because, primarily, of the confusion, already discussed, between music proper and its performance. Several years ago, after the faculty of a prominent liberal arts college had been about persuaded to give music the suggested entrance-credit status, the project suddenly evaporated—because, it was subsequently learned, a foreign language professor had sarcastically asked his colleagues at a faculty meeting whether they wanted the College "filled with a lot of piano-players."

I do not for a moment suggest that proficiency in musical

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performance, however extraordinary, should ever get a student into college or keep him there, any more than the ability to turn a double back-somersault. Although it would be pleasant to envision a day when the advertising potentiality of musical performance might give it the college-entrance-credit status of football, even the most ardent enthusiasm for music is inadequate to any such expectation. While many Western colleges and a number of those in the East already allow an entrance credit for knowledge of musical history and form, many others, notably some of the largest and most prominent, do not; and but comparatively few allow any credit for musical literacy.

It is true that the entrance specifications of most colleges, providing for "special" or "exceptional" cases, allow sufficient latitude to permit a credit for exceptional attainments in music; but it is not the exceptionally gifted musicians who need encouragement since nothing further is necessary to promote their musical education. But it is important that the average majority be stimulated to continue through school the training in music and musical literacy begun in the primary grades. This could be accomplished by a clear and prominent announcement in the college catalog stating that an entrance credit will be allowed for music, on a parity with that accorded any foreign language. Over and over again a protest to the headmasters of prominent secondary schools, directed against the almost total lack of courses in music, has been met by the same reply—entire agreement on the logical desirability of such courses followed by an assertion that it is impossible to give the necessary time to subjects for which no regular college entrance credit is obtainable. The unfortunate result is two-fold: The boys and girls, during the crucial six to eight school years—when by nature they should clinch their musical literacy and acquire a working knowledge of the fundamentals of music, so well begun in the primary schools—cease all scholastic contact with music, with a consequent atrophy of their musical sense and development. Furthermore the school boys, already too prone to scoff at good music as a "sissy" occu-

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pation, are led by the denial of college-entrance status to believe it a subject wholly unworthy of their serious attention. When, toward the middle of their college term, many of them become sufficiently mature to discover their mistake and to want to bridge the hiatus, they find it doubly difficult in the short time remaining.

But while the preparatory schools blame their inadequate instruction on the attitude of the colleges, the colleges refuse to accept certification in music from the schools, on the ground that most of them are inadequately equipped to teach music properly. If the hen and the egg had each thus waited for the other to initiate the poultry cycle we might still be waiting for both chickens and omelette.

The fact is that our colleges of liberal arts, which should be not only abreast but ahead of the times in fulfilling all requirements for cultural education, lag far behind, both in recognizing music as an important cultural activity and in providing appropriate educational facilities. Music must be recognized and regarded, not as a mere form of amusement and exhibitionism, but as a language whose masterpieces are to be taught, studied and understood precisely as the other languages have always been taught and studied. Once educators attain this point of view, once they can compare, seriously and intelligently, the college status of music with other cultural subjects, they will doubtless take prompt steps to correct the present incongruous situation.

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"The Animal with Red Cheeks"

C. J. DUCASSE

FROM ancient times philosophers have striven to discover just which attribute distinguishes mankind from other species of animals. That man is the only two-legged animal without feathers is one of the famous early definitions, disposed of when someone brought a plucked chicken into the room. Another familiar characterization, to the effect that man is the only rational animal, led Oscar Wilde to remark that man is rather the animal who calls himself rational but always gets violently angry when he is treated as if he were. Yet another suggestion is that man is the animal that cooks his food; but chimpanzees trained to cook, ladies and gentlemen trained not to and persons who prefer to subsist on raw food make sufficiently evident the unsatisfactoriness of this conception of man.

A particularly interesting idea, however, was that which occurred to Nietzsche: Man is the animal with red cheeks! Man's cheeks are red when he blushes and he blushes when he is ashamed of himself. Man, Nietzsche thus meant, is the animal who is ashamed of himself; and since we are ashamed when we catch ourselves falling short of some one of our ideals Nietzsche's definition really amounts to saying that man is the animal that has ideals.

I now propose to go one step beyond this and say that man is the animal that beholds himself in mirrors. More literally, he is the animal that is not satisfied with merely living his life but in addition is capable of and insists on watching himself do it. He not only is, does, feels and knows, but unlike any other animal he is insatiably curious to observe himself, his actions, his feelings and his thoughts. He is seldom, however, wholly satisfied with what he finds. Nature, he discovers, has been both niggardly and clumsy in the appearance it bestowed upon him

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and likewise in the talents, virtues and powers with which it equipped him. Therefore no sooner does he get a good look at himself than he takes steps to effect changes for the better. This means that man is at bottom incurably an idealist: for what we call his ideals consist precisely of such traits as he would like to see but fails to find when he beholds himself.

This process of self-editing or self-improvement, evidently, may be directed by man not only to his person but also to his personality. By the mental activity which, after the analogy of physical mirrors, we call reflection man is able to behold more or less objectively his own manner, his own modes of speech, conduct, feelings, motives and thoughts; and when he thus beholds them he is in a position to appraise them and to do something to mold them to a pattern more to his liking. Reflection upon ourselves and the attempt to transform what we are into what we should like to be is thus a process closely analogous to that of sitting in front of a mirror and applying to our lips and cheeks the lustrous glow that Nature forgot. In both cases, however, the appearance is often much easier to improve than the reality. The kindliness, magnanimity or patience which perhaps we find we lack but would like genuinely to possess does not, alas, come to dwell within us upon the mere wish. But the appearance of these qualities is not so hard to put on as the reality. Even when ill-will, pettiness or impatience stir within us it is possible with a little effort to speak and act the part of good-will, nobility and equanimity. Shallow criticism will say that to do this is to be a hypocrite and a sham. But although some one has said that shams are the illegitimate offspring of idealism we may say with equal justice that the legitimate first-born of idealism makes its appearance at the surface of our personality. For the surface is the easiest part of it to alter and, as the place where our contacts with other persons are made, it is of much more importance to them than our psychological interior decorations. Absorption in the latter to the neglect of the surface with which others have to deal betrays a degree of self-centeredness verging on what has been called spiritual

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selfishness. Moreover it should be noted that a part acted thoroughly and without ceasing soon becomes no longer a part but truly ourself. As a man thinks and feels, so indeed does he tend to act and speak; but it is equally true and perhaps more useful to remember that as a man acts and speaks, so likewise does he tend to feel and think.

Although no very sharp line can be drawn between the improvement or embellishment of our character and that of our person the two are in a certain manner distinguishable and it is with the latter that a philosophy of cosmetics is primarily concerned. The ideal we attempt to realize is determined in part by the foundation of inalterable fact that Nature has wished upon us. But what we strive to look like is determined also in part by our taste, by the resources of our imagination and especially by what we believe will be the reactions of other persons. We instinctively keep our attempts at self-embellishment within the limits of what we think others will regard as appropriate and attractive, for the happiness and prosperity of each of us are throughout life very dependent on the attitude towards us of the persons with whom we come in contact. Moreover the contact we have with many of those who can affect our fortunes is often brief and superficial, and the more superficial it is the greater the importance of the surface we exhibit since it is then all they have to go by.

To be attractive to others, then, is something of great moment to practically all of us. Roughly speaking there are two ways to attract them. One is to be likable and the other is to be fascinating. Likableness, on the whole, depends more on realities than on appearances; it is more a matter of our disposition and character than of what we look like except in so far as the latter may be taken as evidence of the former. Fascination on the other hand is a phenomenon much less closely connected with the real worth of its object. It depends very largely upon appearances and their effect on our imagination: the lover beholds the beloved not with eyes but with dreams. And dreams also it is out of which fascination is born in all other cases. Some persons of

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our own sex, some children, some animals and indeed some inanimate things can be fascinating. For some the ocean or the desert or the arctic regions have quite unreasoned fascination. Fascination is the attraction anything has for us when it seems to realize something we have half-consciously been longing to find. And fascination it is, rather than likableness, that our attempts at self-embellishment unconsciously aim at. Although the phenomenon known as "falling in love" is only one among other cases in which fascination occurs it is one of the most striking and doubtless the type that looms largest in the consciousness of mankind. And although being physically fascinated is only a part of the state of being in love it is nevertheless normally a very important or an indispensable part of it. It is therefore but natural that physical fascination should be an aim figuring conspicuously in our attempts at self-embellishment.

The most obvious determinant of physical attraction is beauty of person. To become, or at least to make ourselves look, beautiful is the most elementary step in the attempt to make ourselves physically fascinating. Beauty of person is something whose constituents are most variously conceived by different people. There is probably no one of us who has not often been dumbfounded by the outlandish tastes of his or her friends in the matter of beauty of the opposite sex. But no matter whether we prefer blondes or brunettes, turned-up noses or straight or arched and so on there is nevertheless something which practically all of us agree upon as contributing most powerfully to beauty of person—youthfulness. And the beauty characteristic of the years of youthful bloom is traceable to such familiar factors as a clear smooth skin, bright eyes, abundant and glossy hair, sound teeth, a rosy color of lips and cheeks, smooth outlines of limbs and figure without either obesity or emaciation. Its natural foundation is vigorous health and a good constitution, but unfortunately those are not to be had for the asking, or even by hard work, and persons who lack them or who lack the normal appearances of them nevertheless wish and need to be personally fascinating just as much as those who possess them.

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Here, naturally, the resources of the cosmetic art are drawn upon. Powders and creams skillfully applied may to some extent endow the most unpromising surface with the appearance of the famous "skin you love to touch;" unbelievable things can be done to the eyes; shampoos, dyes, washes and assiduous brushing can impart to the hair the gloss and color it lacks, and permanent wigs, switches, toupees and rats help to simulate the luxuriant growth which is not there. Teeth can be bought better looking and more serviceable than those we grow ourselves; the color not brought to our lips and cheeks by swift-coursing red blood can be brought to them by a little box; firmness and elasticity can in some degree be restored to the flesh by going to a beauty shop where we pay somebody to pinch us and slap our faces (even though, perhaps, we have at home someone who at times would just love to do it for nothing); and the outlines of our figures can be rounded out by the wearing of judiciously designed upholstery, or rounded up by means of obesity belts, braces, foundation garments or other instruments of torture.

The sometimes deadly effectiveness of such artifices in simulating the appearance of the beauty of youthfulness is well-known to all who use them and may further be attested by a law passed by the English Parliament 164 years ago.[1] The prohibition by law of such devices was, of course, due to the fact that they constituted a form of deceit or fraud, a species of false pretense. And this element of fraud or deceit, together with the fact that merely physical fascination is too flimsy a thing to form a secure foundation for marriage, explains why, until recent years, the use of such cosmetic resources has been considered vulgar or even immoral by persons of refinement. As we all know, however, a very decided change in this attitude has taken

[1] This law stated "All women, of whatever age, rank, profession or degree, whether virgins, maids or widows, that shall from and after this act impose upon, seduce or betray into matrimony any of His Majesty's subjects by the use of scents, paints, cosmetics, washes, artificial teeth, false hair, Spanish wool [impregnated with carmine and used as a rouge], iron stays, hoops, high-heeled shoes or bolstered hips, shall incur the penalty of the law now in force against witchcraft and like misdemeanors, and that the marriage, upon conviction, shall stand null and void." *Scientific Monthly*, Oct. 1934, p. 346.

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place in this generation. It would be interesting to inquire into the nature of the transformations in society that were responsible for this change, but this would take us too far afield. Let us rather consider only the possible influence of the advent and growing popularity of certain means to fascination—means that reflect a philosophy quite different from that of the measures just considered.

To be successful the various means for bestowing the appearance of youthfulness must be used with great skill. Of such cosmetic art, at least, Kant's assertion that to be good, art must look like Nature, is completely true. For if it is obvious that our complexion is our own only in the sense that we paid for it, or that the red of our lips came to them not from the inside but the outside, then such things, far from creating the impression that we possess youthful health and beauty, on the contrary shout from afar that we do not. Unless such devices manage really to deceive, they only aggressively defeat their own purpose—advertising as they then do our deficiencies, our wish to deceive and our lack of skill to do so. This is so evident one wonders how so many of the persons who use these artifices can overdo their make-up so clumsily it has no chance whatever of being mistaken for the reality.

When we face this question we begin to realize that make-up can be an effective instrument of fascination quite otherwise than by simulating youthfulness. Let it be noted first that our heads and faces are not the only parts of our persons whose appearance we deliberately alter, for clothing also is something that fundamentally transforms the appearance of the body as a whole. And—bearing in mind the distinction between clothing and upholstery—the transformation effected by clothing is not at all of the nature of make-believe. Although once in a while we find a man of whom it is hard to believe that he was not born with a brown derby, we normally run no risk whatever of mistaking clothing for the appearance of the human body. And such beauty as clothing possesses is quite distinct from the beauty of the human form. Human beings wear clothes for

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various reasons: protection from the weather—for example silk stockings in winter; modesty—exemplified by the constantly diminishing bathing suits of recent years; and so on. But even when the function of clothing is to hide the human form there is no more possibility of mistaking the one for the other than there is of mistaking a bush behind which a man hides for the man himself.

Clothing then essentially constitutes *adornment.* Today clothing is fundamentally a decorative mask for the human form and whatever manages to serve as such a decorative mask constitutes clothing. A completely tattoed man can hardly any longer be called naked since a whole picture gallery thrusts itself between his skin and the beholder's attention.

Now there is no reason why the human head and face should not be dealt with according to the same system as the rest of the body—covered with a decorative mask. Such a mask, whether tied on or only painted on, constitutes not embellishment but adornment. And although adornment is quite another sort of thing than embellishment it may also be an effective means of fascination. In all probability much make-up that would have to be called unbelievably clumsy if intended to simulate the beauty of youthfulness is to be understood as an attempt not at deception but at decoration. When a lady stains her finger-nails to resemble the claws of a tiger ripping up a sheep we cannot plausibly suppose she intends any one to believe the bright crimson color is just the result of vigorous good health. Much rather, it is, like a string of beads, intended to provide decorative spots of contrasting or harmonizing color. But if so it is clear that this lady is for the most part not wholly conscious that the alteration in the appearance of her hands and face is no longer based upon the philosophy of traditional make-up, for if she were she would make a much fuller use of the resources actually at her disposal. If finger-nails are stained to provide decorative spots of bright color why confine oneself to the range of reds? That there is no reason for it is beginning to be realized, for stains of other colors are now commercially available, and one

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of the large mail-order houses lists in its catalog artificial finger-nails of various colors which can be clipped on to match the shade of one's gown.

And if green or blue or golden finger-nails, why then not likewise green or blue or golden lips, eyebrows, cheeks or ears? With the addition of colored wigs to match, some wonderful effects could undoubtedly be achieved. Again, the shape of such a feature as the eyebrow is widely modified today by depilation. Famous movie queens we are told often shave off their eyebrows entirely and paint on another pair much more beautifully designed. But there is no reason for designing them in a shape which is even plausible if decoration rather than simulation of Nature is the aim. Double eyebrows or forked or serpentine might on occasion be more appropriate to the arrangement of the hair or the pattern of the fabric of a gown. Indeed lines or shapes having no likeness to or connection with the features of the human face might well be introduced with most decorative effect. Fashion has at times taken a step in this direction by sticking on the face a small black patch, sometimes round or diamond-shaped, sometimes given the shape of a butterfly or a flower; and of course the people whom we call savages, but whose sense of design is often quite as good as ours and is not hampered by the same set of conventions, do not hesitate to paint upon the face a variety of lines or patterns. It is true that in their case magical effects, such as the warding off of evil spirits, rather than decoration is the aim of the patterns. But whether they be magical or not the draughtsman's sense of design makes them decorative; and on the other hand many civilized women are well aware that the decoration of the human face is a magic which may effectively fascinate good male spirits not yet disembodied.

Decorative clothing, whether for the body or the face, whether buttoned or painted on, is something whose beauty is easily susceptible of being borrowed by the wearer. The borrowing of beauty, interest, glamor or other qualities by one thing from another is a very common phenomenon. It depends upon

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a psychological principle—that when with a given thing another is intimately associated, any noteworthy quality of the second tends to diffuse itself over the first and to be regarded as belonging to it. Jewelers apply this principle when they give an ornate mounting to an inferior or small diamond. The mounting is intimately associated with the diamond and the notable beauty which really belongs to the mounting tends to be regarded as belonging to the stone. A jewel of outstanding beauty is properly given the least conspicuous mounting possible in order that attention may not be distracted from the self-sufficiently beautiful stone. Again, we easily think that the importance, might, intelligence, glamor, lowliness or evilness of individual men are almost visible qualities; but take away from the man his clothing, his usual setting and his typical occupations and those normally almost visible qualities disappear from our sight. In a Turkish bath rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief and policeman look very much alike.

The fact that beauty, mystery, grandeur, glamor or other qualities that fascinate can be borrowed from those objects possessing them—that fact explains the effectiveness of beautiful, exotic or symbolic clothing as a means of fascination. It explains also the fascinating effects of decorations other than clothing—jewelry, perfumes, manners, modes of speech etc., especially if we note that the same principle operates here as in the borrowing and lending of money. The quality or money that a man lends is not always his very own but is often a quality or money that he himself borrowed from another lender. In considering, therefore, the fascinating qualities that clothing, jewelry, perfume and so forth lend to the person we can distinguish between the qualities such adjuncts themselves literally possess and the qualities they only signify and suggest.

In the case of clothing the qualities susceptible of being literally exhibited might be those of beauty of color, fabric and design whereas the qualities that clothing may represent would be those of the rank, wealth or powers of the wearer. The fascination with which a military uniform is said to invest the

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wearer in the eyes of women is thus due in part to its picturesqueness but probably fully as much to the romance, bravery, adventure and so forth it manages to connote. The fascination that jewelry may impart to the wearer is similarly in part a matter of the beauty of its color, fire or design. But this is only a part of its effect, and among civilized peoples the lesser part—witness the importance commonly attached to the preciousness of the jewels worn. So far as actual, visible beauty is concerned an inexpensive but indisguishable imitation is precisely as good as the real thing. If known imitations of precious stones are not esteemed, even when faithful, it is only because, although they look the same, they do not mean the same thing. They do not connote the wealth, power, position, etc. which alone permit the possession of truly precious gems. They do not, therefore, single the possessor out as a person unique among thousands, as on the contrary do rare stones, rare paintings, rare porcelain; or indeed titles, memberships in exclusive organizations, medals for heroism, championship belts, fingernails six inches long or Ph.D. degrees.

In the case of perfumes also we must distinguish between the pleasantness of the odor itself and the pleasantness of what the odor means. The odor of roast beef is pleasant yet a woman who used it would not thereby become more fascinating; and the same would be true of such other odors as that of freshly ground coffee, pineapple, fried onions or pleasant food odors in general. Such odors, because of their associations, stimulate us not to love and dream but to bite and swallow. To use them as perfume would be to provoke hunger in others, and tempt them to treat us as food. The only pleasant odors which can lend fascination to the person are of two sorts. One is the type that does not make us think of the object that produces them—musk, patchouli, ambergris, coumarin. The other kind are mostly flower odors, such as that of the rose or violet; for the objects from which they are extracted, although familiar, are things of beauty, themselves able to lend fascination to the person.

But besides clothing, jewelry, perfumes or even manners and

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modes of speech there are certain other more subtle, non-sensuous things from which our person may borrow fascination—the moral, spiritual or intellectual traits that together make up our personality as distinguished from our person. To describe such traits as decorations of the person is to invert what we regard as the normal order of importance and to resemble the barber who congratulated a customer upon having a large brain because that meant lots of blood in the head and that made the hair grow. Yet it was the important thing from the barber's point of view, and there *is* such a point of view. Likewise there *is* the point of view of the cosmetic art—the art concerned with making our *person* fascinating—and from that point of view musical talent, a poetic mind, wit, resourcefulness, a courageous heart, a brilliant intellect, a kind soul are decorations of the person.

This apparently has led some writers to ask whether the manifestations of those traits, and especially the manifestations that the fine arts constitute, are not to be regarded as subtle forms of self-exhibition to which man is led by an unconscious but deep-rooted impulse to fascinate his fellows in one way or another. The late Henry Rutgers Marshall, for instance, describes the impulse out of which art is born as the impulse-to-act-so-as-to-attract-by-pleasing. And he accordingly finds himself able to account for the survival of the art-creative activity by the fact that it is useful not only, as Darwin pointed out, because it is an instrument of sexual selection but also because it is a means of bringing about unity of feeling and therefore cohesion in society. But in so saying Marshall leaves out half of the story. Granting that the exhibition of artistic creations is a means of attracting attention to oneself, the fact remains that in order to fascinate, the attention must be not only attracted but charmed, and although the first is very easy the second is not. A gentleman in evening dress who had painted a palpitating heart on his shirt front would attract the attention of all the company; but the display would render him fascinating only if the company happened to include a female of his own rare

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species. Upon others the effect would be to render him ridiculous and to mark him as a man who belongs to the company of persons of bad taste.

But as we know very well, the same work of art will be found beautiful by some and ugly by others. It will accordingly lend glamor and fascination to the artist in the eyes of the first and the opposite in the eyes of the others. The whole truth, then, is that the artist's display of his own soul through his works is a means both of attracting some and of repelling others. It is an instrument not essentially of social cohesion but rather of social *assortment*—of bringing together souls which are congenial and belong together and—which is just as important—of pushing apart souls which conflict and belong apart. This utility possessed by Fine Art, moreover, is not limited to the artist himself; for two persons in the presence of a work of art created by a third need only express to each other the feelings inspired by it to discover whether their two souls see eye to eye or the contrary.

Not only the works of art that we ourselves produce, therefore, but also the things we say or do not say concerning the picture, music, poems or statues exhibited by someone else decorate our person in a subtle way and therefore make it fascinating or the opposite to others, according as the traits in ourselves which those spiritual decorations display are in their eyes attractive or shocking. And that such decorations can and do so serve is a thought with which we may well bring to a close this brief inquiry into the philosophy of cosmetics. For what can be more soothing to our bewildered spirits than to dwell on the fact that the saint beholding his soul and striving to improve it, and the sinner beholding her face and also striving to improve it, are after all both of them incurable idealists, each equally earnestly trying to supply some beautiful feature that Nature forgot!

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In Government We Mistrust

ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S Federal government should long since have become an efficient mechanism for translating inchoate and diverse public demands into articulate, authoritative and consistent national policies. As specified in the Constitution, the powers of the President are plenary (except as precisely limited). In providing for the Executive the Framers avoided language which might imply subordination: "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." Executive prerogative no less than Congressional competence is a main source of law. The President is authorized "from time to time to give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." And because of his duty "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed" the President has the right to use any measures not forbidden by statute in order to safeguard and protect those great interests entrusted by the Constitution to the Federal government. Furthermore the Presidency was regarded, as Hamilton declared, as "the centre upon which all administrative questions ultimately rested." Hamilton held therefore "that all of us should rally around him, and support with joint efforts measures approved by him." Evidently the framers also agreed with Hamilton that "energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of a good government." To their minds it was the business of the President to run the government, attend its needs, shape its policy and provide for its responsibilities. The office they had in view was perhaps an American version, elective, of Bolingbroke's Patriot King.

Nevertheless the development of our federal system, so far, has been fitful and spasmodic because of its rigidity and internal

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inconsistency. We have not met Hamilton's test of good government, owing to lack of energy in the leading and central character he specified—the President. His thesis was strikingly re-emphasized last year when the President's Committee on Administrative Management (reporting January, 1937) said:

> We find in the American Government at the present time that the effectiveness of the Chief Executive is limited and restricted, in spite of the clear intent of the Constitution to the contrary; that the work of the Executive Branch is badly organized; that the managerial agencies are weak and out of date; that the public service does not include its share of men and women of outstanding capacity and character; and that the fiscal and auditing systems are inadequate. These weaknesses are found at the center of our government and involve the office of the Chief Executive itself.

Despite all this the political devices most directly responsible for untoward conditions, viz. separation of powers and checks and balances, still constitute in the creed of certain observers the distinctive and superior characteristic of our system. American democracy, they hold, is evidenced in and maintained by these safeguards against "hasty and premature action." Confusing democracy with mob rule, successors of Edmund Burke in our day emphasize the static, never the dynamic, forces of politics. But after all, life is motion; all government, even democratic government, is action. In our industrial civilization, competent, forceful and consistent leadership is more than ever essential for democracy. Never before have we had to concert measures over areas so vast, apply laws to so many law-defeating interests, require a central and dominant power to compose and adjust so many conflicts. Wilson knew, long before he discovered it from bitter experience, that "government is not a body of blind forces; it is a body of men, . . . with a common task and purpose. Their cooperation is indispensable, their warfare fatal."

Democracy, more than any other form of government, requires cooperation by means of leadership—the leadership chosen, and replaceable, by the majority. The masses of men cannot be self-directed except in this sense. Rousseau, the great-

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est apostle of popular government, understood this: "How can a blind multitude, which often does not know what it wills because it rarely knows what is good for it, carry out for itself so great and . . . difficult an enterprise as a system of legislation?" Rousseau's question carries its own answer. The power that resides in the masses must be released. It is the function of leadership to release it. The electorate's action is not creative; neither administration nor legislation take place at the ballot box, for there the people pass judgment or give sanction, accept or reject the action and policy of their leaders.

The founding fathers separated both Congress and people from the Executive and thus made our leadership intermittent and uncertain. Yet as Woodrow Wilson expressed it, "the waters of democracy are useless in their reservoirs unless they may be used to drive the wheels of policy and administration." Our Constitution perhaps slowed down democracy but did not prohibit, in fact really provided for, such a release of its power through the channel of executive leadership. Nevertheless few state-forming documents, as interpreted and practiced, were ever so effective in preventing the work of government from being done. The presidency functions successfully only when crises coincide with the incumbency of a strong Executive.

The framers of our Constitution having checked and divided federal power, a basis for Executive leadership had to be found, we are told, outside the formal machinery of state. That the President might impress his policy upon Congress with vigor and effect, the patronage of government was placed in his hands. Appointments to office were currently referred to as "the principal source of influence." One hears also that the executive and legislative branches are brought into workable relationship by means of political parties run by professional politicians. Our ancestral and ingrained "Spoils System" is an evil but often-excused by-product of this extra-constitutionalism. The President, needing support by Congress to carry a program of action, has no constitutional means of gaining it and must therefore use the patently effective "spoils of office" club to batter his

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party's patronage-hungry legislators into line. The structure of American local government, of ballot and election procedure, has almost invariably been determined along lines laid down by partisan and spoils considerations. Thus it is made to appear that American democracy in action depends upon parties and spoils, that "this is the cardinal principle of American politics." "Nowhere else in the world has party organization had to cope with such enormous tasks as in this country." But its success in dealing with them has generally been exaggerated.

When the party system works effectively it may lessen somewhat the frustrating effect of separation of powers. But history records only one instance in which the President has not lost his control, either in general or specifically, over one or both houses of Congress during some part even of a four-year term. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the exception, retained and increased his party majorities in the mid-term elections of 1934. But though his popular mandate was strengthened in 1936 the force of his leadership has actually diminished, partly because of the third-term fetish. Since few Presidents keep general party control of Congress over two years, our much-discussed extra-constitutional party device has not ensured executive leadership. The party system itself, like our Federal government, lacks unity in action. Party politicians, whether of city, county or country, identify themselves with their localities. The Mayor of Chicago, of Jersey City, does not look to or depend upon either State Government or President though all three be of the same party. Local political magnates sit entrenched, each in his own separatism of power and spoils.

Thwarted by sectionalism or by radical or conservative congressional blocs our party system has signally failed to coordinate executive with legislative power or even to perform, as in England, any unifying and disciplinary function. Party organization in the United States has not provided the leadership on which national policy must rely. Heterogeneous but strongly organized minorities force extravagant appropriations and other concessions from Congress despite protest by the Chief Execu-

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tive. The President, nationally elected, usually gains popularity by courageous vetoes whereas a congressman cannot defy an aggressive lobby. President Roosevelt's veto of the veterans' bonus in January, 1936 demonstrated that a lobby can be ignored by the President without injury. But the minority group triumphed and the cash payments were made against successive objections by four presidents who voiced the opinion of the nation as a whole. The action of such legislative "majorities" shows that our President is not so liable to fall victim to lobbying minorities as are members of Congress. As President Polk remarked in his message of December 4, 1848: "The President represents in the executive department the whole people of the United States, as each member of the legislative department represents portions of them." The Congress of the United States, like the Continental Congress which preceded it "is essentially a diplomatic body—a convention of envoys of locality." Thus for leadership the President, the one public official chosen by and responsible to the entire electorate, is our sole reliance. The extension of executive authority is still "the only practical method of advancing popular rule."

One may agree with Henry Jones Ford that party organization continues to be the potential means of coordinating the executive and legislative branches of the government and still deny that patronage in the hands of the President is a necessary corollary of party organization. William Howard Taft found "an appointment to office creates one ingrate and nine enemies." Furthermore the President cannot hold his appointing power in abeyance indefinitely and when exercised its force goes with it. As Machiavelli said of his Prince's liberality, so with presidential patronage—even while "he uses it he loses his power to do so." Therefore it appears that the spoils system is neither an essential nor practical instrument of democratic leadership. The President wields the patronage club merely because it is customary and available. Its ineffectiveness was proved when President Roosevelt tried by means of it to foist the court packing plan of 1869 on reluctant Senators of 1937. Until spoils

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have been eliminated, however, the President will not, perhaps cannot, rely on public support of his leadership.

To make Executive authority effective and continuous rather than uncertain and periodic the President's Committee (referred to above) urges that: "Real efficiency must be built into the structure of a government just as it is built into a piece of machinery." The Committee's canons "require the establishment of a responsible and effective Chief Executive as the center of energy, direction, and administrative management; the systematic organization of all activities in the hands of a qualified personnel under the direction of the Chief Executive; and to aid him in this, the establishment of appropriate managerial and staff agencies." That is, Back to Hamilton!

Today the need for these structural changes is obvious. Most of the boards, commissions, governmental corporations etc. at Washington, have grown up haphazard, and even though placed in the Executive Branch have not as a rule been connected with the Cabinet departments. The President's cabinet has become largely formal; the myriad independent offices must be brought into a new executive setup before Cabinet members will have the information necessary for their maximum service to the President and Congress. And today, as never before, the center of administrative control is not Congress but the President. Thus the purpose of the President's proposals is so to institutionalize the Presidency that its force and effect will depend less on executive personality and more on systematic and integrated administrative organization.

One may concede the desirability of these structural alterations and still be dubious of results. Efficiency, strictly speaking, cannot be "built into the structure of government . . . as into a piece of machinery." Environmental influences condition the working of the machine, and efficiency is judged solely in terms of work done.

More important still, the same political tradition which has weakened the Presidency throughout our history persists to plague today the well-laid plans of the President's Committee.

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As Dr. B. F. Wright has recently pointed out, this tradition is not, in set terms, revolutionary, conservative or even democratic. Its most characteristic element is distrust of government—yes—but more particularly of governors. All officials, executives, administrators, legislators are suspect amongst us. The Supreme Court stated this theory succinctly in 1875: "Our government is opposed to the deposit of unlimited power anywhere." So is our politics. Such deposit of power with the judges themselves is the not invariable exception, since their authority is often regarded as negative, protective. Yet our national sensitiveness was aroused in Justice Stone's bosom by the Court's decision in the A.A.A. case. He, dissenting, reminded his colleagues, that "while unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the government is subject to judicial restraint, the only check upon our own exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint." Thus when judicial sovereignty becomes positive, determining vital issues of the day, as under Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and the two Roosevelts, judges too fall under criticism, arousing the distrust of Presidents and judges themselves.

Americans are disinclined to rely on political responsibility as an adequate check on government. Our most characteristic political devices—written constitutions, bills of rights, cumbersome procedures for amendment; separation of powers and checks and balances; judicial review of legislative and administrative acts; federalism and state's rights—all are explainable in terms of our ancestral distrust of power.

There have been strong Presidents, active and insurgent legislatures, for in time of war and of warlike stresses we act as practical men. The President becomes a dynamic steward of the people; governors and mayors are masterful managers of public business; all classes, even industrialists and financiers, look to government for leadership, protection, instruction. It is then recognized that government alone can provide the blueprint for action, and its specifications are endorsed verbatim without challenge or argument. But once the emergency has passed

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tradition asserts itself. We revert to the ingrained notion that government is the chief source of all our woes.

During recent years this tenacious element suffered serious eclipse. The 1929 collapse changed the psychology of millions. Laborers out of work, families with broken fortunes, merchants loaded with bad debts, professional men with shrinking incomes stood in terror of they knew not what. These newly-submerged masses turned with fanatic faith to government as men in another age, during pestilence and panic, had turned to God. Franklin D. Roosevelt became the dramatized tribal deity of our distressed and worshipful nation. To deal with the emergency the President took action outside the prescription of law and sometimes even against it.

Already one notes reaction. Even before the emergency had passed some amongst us began to consider ways and means to eliminate the leader. Certain prominent citizens delude themselves by thinking that if Roosevelt can only be shelved we shall have no further worries. Little do they realize that there are still a host of social perplexities which neither society nor government can ignore. These must be dealt with if our democracy is to endure. This is not to decry informed criticism of the President now in office but rather to suggest that attack be directed against improper use of power—not against Presidential power as such. Roosevelt's New Deal is now threatened with overthrow; when and if defeat or compromise occurs it will more than likely be accomplished in the name of our most honored institutional shibboleths—Separation of Powers, State's Rights, Judicial Review—the whole philosophy "opposed to the deposit of unlimited power anywhere."

Conceding that we have reached a stage where the future of democracy depends on our increasing control and regulation of economic and social life through a strong and nationally unified authority, the social service or general welfare State becomes inevitable. This makes it imperative not only to institutionalize the Executive but to implement it with a genuine Civil Service. "The merit system [in the language of the President's

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Committee] should be extended upward, outward and downward to cover all non-policy determining posts, and the civil service system should be reorganized and opportunities established for a career system attractive to the best talent of the nation." Unless civil servants be appointed, advanced and removed on a merit basis, a transfer of regulation (to say nothing of management) of certain aspects of our economic-social activity merely from industrial to political spoilsmen will not bring net gain. Nor does the abolition of patronage and the creation of permanent Civil Service on merit disrupt effective Presidential leadership. But to get civil service reform we must overcome still another outmoded political tradition. In his inaugural message of 1829 Andrew Jackson favored short terms, rotation in office, and subscribed to the notion that the duties of all public officers are "so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify. . . ." Or, as Warren G. Harding put it in times of universal suffrage and under circumstances infinitely more complex: "Government after all is a very simple thing." Such ideas prevail too largely today in politics and business.

Americans have an almost instinctive aversion to skill and knowledge. We think of expertness as warring with democracy itself. Local employees of large corporations often feel the same hostility to headquarters' inspectors and traveling auditors. The critical and contemptuous ridicule hurled at the so-called Brain Trust reflected this attitude. The inescapable effort to bring intelligence to bear on modern problems of government has produced no such reaction in any other democratic country; it was and is typical of America. The subject-matter of government is obviously complex, difficult and variegated; nevertheless ours is normally administered by quasi-amateurs, periodically removed, to conform with what are erroneously regarded as democratic principles. We have yet to learn that no country can safely legislate beyond its capacity to administer and execute. Among other reasons, Roosevelt's New Deal has not been more successful because it has attempted to build the social welfare state on the sands of spoils. What else can a progressive President do?

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The President's Committee holds that "the American Executive as an institution stands across the path of those who mistakenly assert that democracy must fail because it can neither decide promptly nor act vigorously." But such interested optimism does not reassure anyone who notes how rare strong executive leadership has been in our history or anyone who hesitates to describe the American executive as an institution. We know that the Presidency is a myth; that the office has always been, and is now, only what the personality of any particular incumbent can and in fact does make it from time to time. Since dominating figures have been far too few in the White House the Committee's proposals for institutionalizing and strengthening the office itself are greatly to be commended. The Presidential leadership now needed cannot be based on patronage, nor is the argument against Civil Service reform on the score of its disabling effect on executive authority convincing. However, even if eventually the Committee's recommendations be enacted into law, basic tradition fixed in our politics will probably block both the executive leadership and the Civil Service reform which the Committee hopes to attain. One such tradition is distrust and fear of power, particularly executive power; another is the Harding theory of democracy. Under our changed conditions few men in public life are now willing to champion rotation in office; fewer still pay more than verbal respect to Civil Service or will risk failing to reward their party workers and friends.

Until such practices as these are modified it is hard to believe that "the American Executive occupies an enviable position among the executives of the states of the world, combining as it does the elements of popular control and the means of vigorous action and leadership—uniting stability and flexibility." Herein the President's Committee is but voicing its own hopes, stating the Framers' intentions. Realization of both must wait until we supersede the traditions and practices discussed in these pages. Americans must some day view the realities of our current politics with the insistent seriousness now lavished on ancestral doctrines and devices.

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Do Taxes Kill the Golden Goose?

ARNAUD C. MARTS

A YEAR or so ago a full-page advertisement appeared in the Pittsburgh morning newspapers entitled "Destructive Taxes Will Eventually Cripple College, Church and Charity." It was paid for by a wealthy gentleman of wide business and political interests who had received a letter from a college president soliciting a gift to his college and calling attention to the income tax regulations which enable a donor to give, tax free, up to 15 per cent of net income to educational and philanthropic organizations. The advertisement admonished all college presidents to fight the heavy direct taxation of the wealthy. Excerpts from the advertisement suggest the full argument:

All responsible heads of institutions, writing letters similar to that which you address to me, should as a matter of duty to the institution represented, as well as decorum to the person solicited, express their abhorrence of a system of taxation that destroys initiative, invites governmental extravagance, involves ever-increasing taxation, lays the groundwork for a totalitarian state, and sounds the death knell of the very work in which they are engaged. . . .

During the last twenty years, the masses, led by the radical press and by swarms of vociferous politicians, pulpiteers and professors, have been more than advocating the crippling—they are demanding the destruction—of that element whose ingenuity, initiative, progressiveness and aggressiveness made us a great nation.

This destruction can be accomplished by any one of three methods: By wholesale murder, by confiscation of capital, or by high and discriminatory taxes. The latter method has been chosen in our country, although it may take two generations to accomplish that which could be done in a day by either of the other methods. . . . When the goose is killed, it stops laying golden eggs. When the seed corn is destroyed there can be no crop. . . . Therefore, unless men like you, who head educational institutions, in conjunction with those interested in hospitals, the Y. M. C. A., and the Red Cross, sponsor a movement and

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make it a successful movement to prevent a continuation of the improper use of the power of taxation, and substitute reasonable taxation, equitable taxation, general taxation in place of punitive taxation, then let me tell you that you are on your last round-up. The future solicitor will be compelled to make his appeal for dollar and dime contributions!

Many wealthy persons resent recent increases of tax schedules so intensely that as a gesture of disapproval of the New Deal they are withholding support from our voluntary cultural institutions. There are others whose estates are being so drastically depleted by heavy taxation that they feel unable to give or bequeath a portion of their property to philanthropy. On the other hand some are stimulated to greater giving by heavy taxation. "I would rather give my money now to an institution that will do good with it than have it go via inheritance taxes to a profligate government" represents a not uncommon attitude.

A more even distribution of national wealth and income is one of the objectives of the new governmental policies as to taxation. If this is achieved our voluntary educational and philanthropic institutions should take cognizance of such a shift and build new financial policies around the altered income distribution. Robert R. Doane's *The Measurement of American Wealth* is valuable in this connection. Mr. Doane presents the sources from which all our voluntary cultural, social, religious and character-building agencies except private colleges derive their income. He states that during 1929, the last year studied, the living supporters of all these voluntary agencies paid into the treasuries of our churches, hospitals, welfare, community, relief, civic and philanthropic societies by dues, fees and gifts a total of $2,029,560,000. Mr. Doane estimates that persons with incomes of $25,000 and over contributed 13½ per cent, those with incomes from $3,000 to $25,000 gave 18½ per cent and those with incomes of $3,000 and less gave 68 per cent. The greater share of the load of this philanthropic and welfare burden was borne by those with the minimum incomes because they vastly outnumber those with large incomes. Of 48,000,000 income recipients over 45,000,000 were in the lower brackets.

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The burden of our voluntary philanthropic undertakings is supported, therefore, by approximately 32,000,000 people representative of all income levels.

Since 68 per cent of the support of our voluntary religious and philanthropic agencies comes from those with the lowest incomes, and if the New Deal policy of taxation succeeds in raising the income levels of these same people, should these various agencies not plan to increase dues and fees and tuitions and depend less upon gratuities and generous windfalls? The latest published report of the United States Office of Education on the receipts of all privately controlled degree-granting colleges and universities in this country reveals sources of income for current educational and general purposes as follows: From student fees $105,458,335; from sales and services $7,123,742; from invested endowment $50,636,883; from private gifts for current expenses $24,902,787; from public sources (taxes) $7,853,109. The point here is that although interest from endowment and current gifts is essential to the maintenance of our private colleges the income from students themselves is still more important.

At present our colleges carry a heavy burden in the scholarship aid they give poor young men and women. During 1936 the 51 Liberal Arts colleges and universities in Pennsylvania gave financial assistance, exclusive of N.Y.A. aid, to 22,300 students through scholarship grants totaling $4,390,000. At the same time these same colleges received a total annual income of $4,212,000 from invested endowment. The financial operation of our colleges is conditioned, to be sure, upon the endowment provided by generous friends. But it is dependent to an equal degree upon the financial well-being of the vast number of families whose sons and daughters are our college students. As this well-being improves the demands upon philanthropy will diminish.

May not our voluntarily-supported agencies take wise measures to bolster their income from the increased incomes of those whom they serve? In the hospital field, for instance, the redis-

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tribution of income makes possible a much wider spread of some form of Group Hospitalization. Hospitals which can in future adopt such a mutual plan will not be obliged to go so often to the wealthier individuals for the substantial outright gifts they would otherwise need for endowment and operating losses. Most colleges, also, could improve their financial operations from the increased income promised the masses of the people. A great many of them can, if they will, devise methods for inducing larger numbers of their students to pay a larger share of what it costs the colleges to educate them. Rich and poor at the private college now pay the same tuition. But to keep their tuitions low, colleges have been obliged from the very beginning to solicit the wealthier members of society for endowments and gifts. A rather unhealthy condition has grown up in recent years, however, because many colleges, in their eagerness to obtain students, have made wide offerings of scholarship aid. Scholarships offered by one college have forced its neighboring college to offer similar scholarships and before they were aware of the pit they were digging for themselves the colleges created expectations of subsidies and aids which in some cases the students did not need. One could cite many instances of boys and girls of well-to-do families who "shop around" amongst colleges to find which will make the best scholarship offer. In the college's eagerness to serve the poor boy it now finds itself giving away more to the boy of comfortable means than that boy needs or than the college can spare. To make up this deficit, philanthropy has been asked to contribute more and more. If rich men will be fewer in the years to come, colleges must make up their losses by ceasing unnecessary scholarship grants.

But it is to be hoped that our voluntary agencies may not lose the confidence and support of our wealthy men and women, as predicted in the advertisement quoted, even though these agencies gain from the increased support of the masses. They need and deserve the sustained and augmented generosity of all fine-grained persons, in all income categories. It is not too much to hope that they will experience added rather than diminished

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support, even from those upon whom new taxes fall the most heavily.

The formula for philanthropy on a large scale is a large bank account plus a deep sense of social responsibility. Our voluntary colleges and our churches and hospitals and other agencies have an opportunity to create an augmented sense of social responsibility and to spread this sense of responsibility across various income levels—a spread which may more than compensate for the actual reduction of personal wealth in the upper brackets. For though there may be an irresistible trend to reduce the size of individual fortunes, is there not an equally irresistible force at work increasing our social sensitiveness?

The fear that new economic controls will so reduce personal fortunes that large-scale giving will cease may not take into full account the actual practices of many wealthy persons. This fear assumes that our wealthy men and women are contributing to their limit and that against their own preferences they will be forced by increased taxation to a curtailment of giving. But the record of giving, as revealed by the Federal Income Tax returns, does not indicate that all of the wealthy are burdened by their gifts. The Internal Revenue Act permits taxpayers to make deductions for gifts to philanthropies up to 15 per cent of their net income. Year after year, however, these taxpayers report gifts aggregating only about 2 per cent of their net incomes.

As a nation we spend 85 per cent of our annual income, save 12 per cent and give to our philanthropic undertakings only 3 per cent or less. We should be a vastly happier and richer nation if we could be induced to give many times this 3 per cent to efforts in behalf of education, religion, welfare, health, culture, science and character building. Every dollar invested in such successful endeavor creates many new dollars' worth of permanent material values to our society. This refers not merely to spiritual intangibles, but specifically to actual dollar values that education and health and religion and character create. The United States Office of Education has made a study of the values that emerge from the educational process. Dr. William J.

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Cooper, former Commissioner of Education, said in summing up this study that education creates business by giving people purchasing power.

> . . . a thirst for information about other parts of one's country and the world, which demanded newspapers, magazines, and books for its satisfaction; a longing to participate in affairs beyond the limits of one's country, which required at first roads, then railroads, then paved highways, and finally airplanes. Finally some leisure was secured which brought demand for entertainment, involving music and musical instruments, chautauquas, theatres, concerts, and, in our own day, such devices as radio receiving sets. . . . Only 5 per cent of illiterates deposit money in banks, and only 10 per cent of them pay any taxes other than the poll tax. Iowa, the least illiterate state, has more farmers who own their own farms than any other state, while Louisiana, the most illiterate state in 1920, has the fewest farm owners.
>
> There is also a dearth of modern farm implements in illiterate rural sections as revealed by assessors' reports. Vehicles of all kinds are lacking and even such farm animals as milch cows and work horses are scarce. Illiterate localities are the poorest purchasers of paint, for not even the houses are painted. Assessors' lists also show little jewelry, silverware, and few clocks in the homes of illiterates. Moreover, State Assessors' reports show that in illiterate counties merchants carry meager stocks of goods and these consist of the poorer and coarser qualities.

The churches, colleges, character-building institutions and social service agencies, all combined, cost the nation but a small fraction of the twelve-billion-dollar bill which crime is said to impose involuntarily upon us each year. Racketeering and graft are said to cost the nation billions more. There is but one sure way to lighten this crushing load. It is the way of the church, the college, the character-building and the humanitarian agency, all of which seek to make the honorable, unselfish ideal of life so appealing that fewer and fewer of our young people will be drawn into the pathway of selfishness, ignorance, dishonesty and crime.

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Impressionism in Fiction: Prism vs. Mirror

HERBERT MULLER

IMPRESSIONISM in literature, according to Webster, is "depiction of scene, emotion, or character with broad simplicity and little elaboration of detail"; other dictionaries give substantially the same definition. It would follow then that Henry Fielding is the model impressionist and Marcel Proust the exact antithesis. And this does not make sense. No critic, to my knowledge, has called Fielding by any such name; most critics do give it to Proust. Yet the subtlety and intricacy of Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past* makes Henry James seem blunt and simple, its minuteness and exhaustiveness makes Arnold Bennett a mere dillettante of detail; and if there is some question as to the quality of the cabbage at the center of this immense maze there is no question that all the tortuous paths wind through Proust's subjective impressions.

Now definitions like these are arbitrary and they cannot be tidy except at the price of extreme narrowness and inflexibility. Yet some approach to exact definition is necessary if men are to perceive relations, to get anything like a firm grasp of modern literature—or simply to get together and know what they are talking about. Despite all its scientific accessories modern criticism still communicates a heated or exalted state of mind more often than it makes precise references. Realism, naturalism, humanism, romanticism—not only can such counters mean almost anything the critic wants them to mean but seldom do we know exactly what he *does* mean by them. Seldom, indeed, are we sure that he himself knows. And impressionism, as I see it, is one of the key words in modern literature. It describes the work of many of our more important novelists and poets. It has significant linkages with other fields of thought, notably psy-

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chology. It is bound up, in fact, with the whole process of revaluation that is the central problem of modern life.

After discounting the most loose or merely lyrical usage, in which *impressionism* means anything fanciful, striking, disorderly, or illogical, one may penetrate to a fairly solid core of reference by consulting the French painters. The early impressionists, like Monet, tried to strip themselves of all intellectual preconceptions, to forget that the sky is blue and the grass green, and after this to paint what the eye actually sees. They rendered their immediate, naive sensory impressions; their vision, as Sheldon Cheney remarks, was more truly visual. Thus what they introduced was essentially a closer study of light and color, a more faithful realism. But the practice of Cézanne, Matisse, Van Gogh and other so-called post-impressionists was more revolutionary. Although Cézanne also cherished "the innocence of the eye" and the gain in purity and scientific accuracy of color, his final aim was not a more sensitive reproduction of surfaces but a "realization" of inner meanings or essences. "I have not tried to reproduce Nature: I have represented it," he said; in other words, "art should not imitate nature, but should express the sensations aroused by nature." His immediate image was only a means to an end; his impressions were visionary as well as visual, his paintings less mirrors than metaphors. Therefore he freely distorted appearances, not only blurring but breaking up contours, in order to clarify or emphasize the underlying reality. And therefore, although he himself still kept recognizable the forms of the objective world, his followers steadily sacrificed representation to "expression" until finally they eliminated it entirely and landed in pure abstraction. Cézanne let down the bars for cubism, futurism, vorticism, surrealism and all the other isms that dismay the uninitiated.

In this misty mid region terminology can scarcely be neat. The point of departure, however, remains clear enough and from it one may proceed directly to impressionism in literature. Joseph Conrad, Stephen Crane, Marcel Proust, D. H. Lawrence, Dorothy Richardson, Virginia Woolf, Sherwood Ander-

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son, Conrad Aiken, Katherine Mansfield, William Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe—these and other writers have in various ways adapted to fiction the technique of the impressionistic painters, especially as it was supplemented by Cézanne. In general their aim is an immediate, pure re-creation as opposed to a formal report or an orderly analysis or any generalization of experience. Conventional realists, Mrs. Woolf declares, give "a vast sense of things in general, but a very vague one of things in particular." Instead of talking about life, the impressionists accordingly seek to convey directly the actual sensation of living. They seek to suppress, or at least to subordinate, the habitual percepts and concepts that separate us from actuality; to communite the live, instantaneous, total sensory impression before common sense has transformed it or intellect abstracted its conventional "meaning"; in short, to give a full intense *realization* instead of a mere comprehension of experience. In a sense their fiction exemplifies the dictum of Archibald MacLeish: "A poem should not mean but be."

Conrad provides perhaps the clearest illustration of what impressionism in the novel means. The appeal of a novel, he wrote, "must be an impression conveyed through the senses"; his whole task was "to make you hear, to make you feel . . . before all, to make you *see*." He himself always apprehended objects and people intuitively by getting impressions of them, not by logically analyzing and indexing, and the secret of his art lies in his complete realization of every character and scene, however incidental, through a wonderfully vivid rendering of sensory impressions. His anxious avoidance of phrases like "two months elapsed" or "he said" and all such conventions of formal narration is only one of the more curious signs of the intention revealed in his disregard of chronology, his concern with atmosphere, his use of Marlow and others as refractors, his aspiration to the "magical suggestiveness of music"; he wanted to give the immediate impression life makes upon us. What still discomfits many readers of Conrad is less, I believe, his pessimism than his aloofness, his refusal to point a specific moral

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or meaning or even to establish a clear *case*. Where most novelists are concerned with some kind of persuasion or argument he was actually content simply to make the reader see, allowing him then to find according to his deserts.

Such an intention naturally results in greater emphasis upon subjective experience; like Cézanne, the impressionists strive for a greater intimacy, not with nature itself but with the sensations aroused by nature. For this reason has Proust been called the model impressionist. "Instead of seeking to render an account of the object," Ramon Fernandez points out in *Messages*, "he succeeds in defining the affective state corresponding to it" —and defining with extraordinary sensitiveness and precision. Thus impressionism does not imply an utter rejection of logical analysis or a denial of its validity. If Lawrence vehemently attacks the modes of intellect as a falsification and downright blight upon experience, and if Dorothy Richardson and Virginia Woolf are content to represent a stream of sensations without analysis or comment, others freely introduce the products and processes of cerebration. Yet all subordinate these processes to the original impression, the intuitive perception; judgment follows rather than initiates, and does not dictate. The abundant commentary in Conrad is offered as hypothesis, a speculative supplement, and it is all held in suspension; when most illuminating, it still does not transmute the essential stuff of his fiction, which is pure sensory impression. Similarly with Proust. Although *Remembrance of Things Past* is the most amazing analytical novel ever written, displaying to an unparalleled degree the "thinking mastery of the unthinkable" for which Fernandez praises Conrad, Proust employs his analytical powers only as an aid in wringing out the whole significance of his sensations and rarely leaves the province of these sensations.

All writers, of course, employ from time to time the methods of impressionism; they can never indefinitely substitute intellectual operations for their immediate perceptions. But hitherto novelists have made this direct appeal to the senses a kind of rhetorical device, an incidental means in the presentation of

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some generalized report or argument. As an animating principle, a systematic approach rather than an occasional method, a self-conscious creed rather than an instinctive practice, impressionism is a recent development in literary history; and it has profoundly altered the form and texture of fiction. It has led to what Professor Joseph W. Beach calls the "deformalization" of the novel. The impressionists have in the first place substituted the creation of atmosphere for inventory or set picture, subtle evocation for analysis or comment. They have discarded formal chronological narratives, with a definite beginning, middle, and end, in favor of retrospective, discontinous, or unfinished actions, streams of associations canalized by emotion and the logic of the unconscious, or some kind of proliferous growth more nearly corresponding to the way in which we experience life—life, as Conrad insisted, does not *narrate*. They have broken up the relatively simple, trim patterns of characterization, presenting figures who have no shape to speak of and who defy simple summary or category. In general they have destroyed the solidity and rigidity of life as traditionally represented, blurred the contours and, like the painters, have sacrificed symmetry and neatness to intensity and expressiveness.

Hence the mysteriousness in much impressionistic fiction, the shadows deepened by the very brilliance of its illuminations. If at times a Sherwood Anderson mistakes mere vagueness for profundity, just as some of the painters make a virtue of dimness, this mysteriousness is at best the mysteriousness of all experience that is deeply felt, of the inevitable gap between sensation and thought. Lucidity and order are necessary alike for philosophy and for practical dealings with reality but they are impossible for the artist aiming at immediacy and totality of apprehension. "The meaning of an episode is not inside like a kernel but outside enveloping it" Conrad declares through Marlow, and the object of all his agonized effort was to render this "semi-transparent envelope." "Life is not a series of gig lamps symmetrically arranged" writes Virginia Woolf; "life is a luminous halo." In all her novels she tries directly to evoke,

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not to dispel, this halo. "It's more shimmery," Lawrence's hero in *Sons and Lovers* explains of one of his sketches, "as if I'd painted the shimmery protoplasm in the leaves and everywhere, and not the stiffness of the shape. . . . Only this shimmeriness is the real living. The shape is a dead crust." And *Sons and Lovers*, which begins in the broad daylight of the old-time realism, carries the reader into the strange world of Lawrence's later fiction, where all familiar outlines disappear in the flutter and glimmer of a super-charged atmosphere.

Now the company I have assembled in the name of impressionism are obviously restless bedfellows—Lawrence, for example, simply abhorred Proust. They are not a compact school; they have not formulated a clear and consistent program. They differ not only in their vision and values but even in their methods. Dorothy Richardson, Virginia Woolf and Conrad Aiken employ the stream of consciousness, an obvious means of gaining the immediacy and intimacy they seek but a means which may lead—as in the famous last chapter of *Ulysses*—to the last word in literal realism. Lawrence almost disappears from view in a dark, underground world; he deals more with visceral sensations, than with sensory impressions of the external world, seeking to project the essential unconscious being, the life energy itself—the blood stream rather than the thought stream. Conrad on the other hand rarely uses the interior method; he views his characters from the outside, presenting them as they impress a sensitive observer. Again, these novelists differ in the degree to which they have systematized their practice and worked out its philosophical implications. To some of them impressionism is simply a congenial technique, which they rationalize from hand to mouth in so far as they bother at all with the problem of cognition. In Lawrence it is tied up with a mystical philosophy though this is in turn the product of his peculiar sensitiveness to "unknown modes of being." And most comprehensive and thoroughgoing is Proust, who integrates his art with a whole and consistent esthetic and philosophy. He insists that the ideas life communicates through the senses are

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the only "criterion of truth" and that the mere engraving of these impressions upon the mind guarantees their validity; intellectual analysis is a useful aid but always secondary.

Definition is further complicated by the welter of experimentation in modern fiction and by all its centrifugal tendencies. One cannot draw a sharp line where ordinary realism ends and impressionism begins or where impressionism ends and something else begins. Similarly it is difficult to make nice distinctions among related tendencies in other art forms. Imagist poetry, the technique of montage in the movies, the broken rhythms and jagged forms of modern music—these have a fairly obvious correspondence with impressionistic fiction. Symbolist poetry is also akin but it is distinguished by specialized methods and esoteric aims. And there is also the tangled fringe of work corresponding more or less to expressionism in painting —expressionism in drama, the automatic writing of Gertrude Stein, and the principles of abstract composition employed by Joyce in the novel, by Eliot, Pound, Cummings, and innumerable others in poetry. If the novel rarely approaches the extremes of modern art it is only because fiction is naturally more representational than other mediums and language (to all but the Dadaists and perhaps Miss Stein) more meaningful.

Yet although even as a word *impressionism* is blurred at the edges, its core remains clear and solid enough to justify this addition to the isms that already clutter up the critical vocabulary. It symbolizes a new conception of the art of fiction that the critic has somehow to deal with. Those I have called impressionists all reflect changed views of personality and consciousness. All take liberties, if not with the actual appearances of things at least with common-sense perceptions. All attempt to make us apprehend life "at the instant when it is being made" (Fernandez)—not as it is interpreted by the intellect or perceived by the busy, informing eye conditioned to see what the intellect demands for the purposes of its convenient abstractions. Whatever their ultimate meanings, all imply this as the best approach to reality for the artist if not the scientist or philosopher.

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More important at any rate than further refinements of definition is the question of the sources of the movement as a whole. Although the French painters officially inaugurated it they seem to have had little direct influence upon any novelist except Proust; both painters and writers were responding, however unconsciously, to the same deep pressure. Impressionism is made so significant precisely because of the depth, extent, and urgency of the forces that impelled it. It is not merely a fancy way of writing; it leads back to the central issues of the modern world.

In its most obvious origins impressionism sprang from the periodic desire for a new deal in art. It was a natural reaction against orthodox realism—a realism that in painting had culminated in the mechanical, sterile work of the academicians, and in fiction in the fact-mongering of the naturalists. Meredith was early protesting against the futility of "a conscientious transcription of all the visible, and a repetition of all the audible"; Proust constantly disparaged "this miserable listing of lines and surfaces"; and the exciting experiments of Joyce, Gide, O'Neill, Dos Passos and innumerable others are all evidence of dissatisfaction. Like the painters, writers sought greater expressiveness: a subtler, intenser notation or some Northwest Passage to the essential realities. But the impressionists not only scrapped the cumbersome paraphernalia of ordinary realistic investigation; implicitly or explicitly they questioned the philosophical assumptions on which it is based, the whole view of life it subserves. If their original objection to conventional realism was that it is mechanical, clumsy, and superficial their final objection is that it is *unreal*.

Here impressionism parallels, if it does not directly draw from, the recent developments in science. The mechanistic science-philosophy of the 19th century that inspired naturalism is today pretty generally discredited, but the foundations of ordinary realism have also been corroded. Such realism reflects a common-sense view of life; and the man of common sense can no longer feel altogether at home in the world being fashioned by physicists and mathematicians, can no longer read all the

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signs and find his way around. Novelists brought up on the systems of Darwin, Comte, and Spencer could put their trust in an orderly catalog of externals; contemporaries of Einstein, Whitehead, and Eddington are likely to have misgivings about such simple operations. More specific, however, has been the influence of modern psychology. Impressionism has drawn heavily from the vast world of the unconscious opened up by the psychoanalysts—the instinctive, affective, non-rational life of man that they have brought so conspicuously into consciousness. It leans on the thought of William James, with his emphasis upon the marginal, incoherent, and inchoate elements of mental experience and his insistence that intellectual analysis of this experience breaks up the vital unity or wholeness that is its essential quality. And it has a close and highly suggestive correspondence with the recent *Gestalt* school. Their doctrine that the essential nature of objective reality as of subjective experience is to be found in dynamic patterns, discrete *wholes* determining their parts and differing from the sum of these parts; that these patterns—for example in personality and behavior—are accordingly to be studied as wholes, not analyzed into their component elements; that introspection is artificial and that the immediate, naive impression, as a total perception, is the primary means of apprehension—this entire theory might have been especially designed as authority for impressionism. Conrad in particular exemplifies it in his treatment of human beings. The reader instantly apprehends his characters as Conrad himself did, as live wholes having a *gestalt* or configuration not to be identified with the aggregate of their characteristics —a unique individuality that can be sensed but not analyzed.

In general, impressionism corresponds to the anti-mechanistic trend in all fields of thought: the intuitivistic philosophy of Bergson, the semi-mystical speculations of the advanced mathematicians and physicists, even the recent refinements of Marxist analysis, whose practitioners are more generally realizing that the materialism of Marx is different from the simple laboratory philosophy that inspired Zola and still intoxicates Theo-

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dore Dreiser. Although a thousand formulists still proclaim that they have cornered it, "truth" is now commonly regarded as still more complex and elusive than the realists have dreamed of. But impressionism is also an outgrowth of the more immediately sensible conditions of modern life. The desire for greater intensity and quickened expressiveness that has animated both novelists and painters is a natural response to the dynamism of the modern world—the accelerated tempo, the multiplied sensations, the higher pressure; in all its forms modern art is seldom pedestrian, quiet, easy, or undistorted. Above all, however, the subjectivism implicit in impressionism—the emphasis upon the knower rather than the known, upon sensation rather than generalization—is a direct result of the central problem of this age: the decay of faith, the dearth of universally accepted values and symbols, the breakdown of the trunk lines of communication, the spiritual anarchy generally.

From one point of view the heterogeneity, intricacy and fluidity of modern society, with all its profound incertitudes, make difficult anything like a clear detachment or a tight hold on objective reality. From another, the collapse or confusion of common purposes and ideals robs the artist of a clear, positive function—painters in particular have found it difficult to feel that they are in vital relation to the group but novelists as well have had no strong collective ideology to build on. The natural consequence from either is that the artist falls back upon subjective impressions, his private consciousness, as the only "reality" he can know. Many of the impressionists are highly objective in method but in substance only Virginia Woolf is a really impersonal artist, whose consciousness or experience is seldom to be identified with that of her characters. The fictions of Conrad and Lawrence are compact of the stuff of their exceptional experience (Conrad rarely *invented* a character); Proust, Dorothy Richardson, Aiken and Wolfe either write transparent autobiography or refract experience through some consciousness very like their own.

Hence the disrepute into which impressionism has fallen

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today, when many artists are again fired by a communal faith, united in the cause of building a brave new world. In *A Note on Literary Criticism* James Farrell, for example, uses the word to describe an exclusive devotion to the esthetic or formal as opposed to the "functional" or social values of art. It is now apparently a bargain-counter epithet, the antonym of "authentic." And so verbalization is again mistaken for vision and a sober evaluation of the impressionists' contribution to fiction grows more difficult.

The dangers of their approach are indeed plain. It is likely to give disproportionate emphasis to fleeting sensations, to separate moments, and finally to leave the impression of tenuousness, preciosity, inconsequence; often it entails the sacrifice of too much of the solid substance of experience—the vast, inescapable bulk of the material world and the hard facts of existence in it. Even in the best of the impressionists one feels at times the need of the discipline of objectivity and the ballast of common sense. They get lost in the mists of the mind, they meander with too mazy a motion. Most serious, however, is the fact that impressionism encourages cultivation of the idiosyncratic and eccentric, forgetfulness of the deeper purposes of art and the basic needs of the race. It often lacks the resonance of the collective spirit. "Universality" is a loose word, too easily abused; but it still refers to a fundamental truth of human experience, a fundamental quality of great art.

Yet impressionism is not necessarily anti-social. If it begins in self it need not end there; its final reference may be outward and much wider. Although Conrad was indifferent to all the peculiar aches and problems of his contemporaries, retiring from the active world to dwell among his unusual memories and to agonize over problems of style, he tried to discover in his consciousness the consciousness of the race, his final concern was "the 'ideal' value of things," and in locating this value in a few simple ideas, "so simple that they must be as old as the hills," he was in line with most of the great artists of the past. Lawrence had a strong societal instinct, which was indeed the source

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of his terrible sense of loneliness and frustration; his records of sensation in his subterranean world provided the text for an impassioned sermon, a message inadequate but not irrelevant. And the neurasthenic Proust, who is commonly held up as the horrible example in this unhealthy kind, nevertheless created a whole world, teeming with life; beginning with an anxious microscopic scrutiny of his cherished private symptoms he was at the end insisting that he was looking through a telescope, talking ecstatically of the "universal laws" and "eternal essences" he had discovered by plumbing his subjective impressions. In short, impressionism is properly a means to an end, not an end in itself, and it may project many different views of life. It is a means still employed even by proletarian artists. Dos Passos adds another perspective to his vision of American civilization by his Camera Eye; much of Caldwell is pure impressionism (*God's Little Acre* culminates in a mystical passage inspired by Lawrence); and the hard-bitten James Farrell begins *A World I Never Made* in a semi-impressionistic style.

The best pages of Conrad, Lawrence and Virginia Woolf, the whole immense achievement of Proust, are alone sufficient justification of impressionism. If theirs is by no means the only way to write a good novel it is a fruitful way and the triumphs in other methods do not destroy its validity. At their best the impressionists do attain the greater intensity and expressiveness they seek. They vividly evoke the "mysterious alliances through space and time" that scientist, philosopher and artist strive to detect each in his own way; they offer life bright from the minting, before it has been dulled in the service of common-sense transactions. Their work has, moreover, a special value and importance for this age. It has freshened the natural sources of art, confirmed the worth of the sensations to which the artist is especially attuned, helped to deliver him from mechanical or merely conventional responses, opened up new possibilities that correspond to his oldest and deepest impulses. It has weakened the grip of that old-man-of-the-sea among critical fallacies—the belief that there is such a thing as "plain, unvarnished

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fact." It has helped to discredit all the pseudo-history, pseudo-psychology and pseudo-economics that masquerade as creative fiction—the formal realism that is only in a metaphorical sense "truth" and too often art only in name.

In general the impressionists have consciously or unconsciously combatted the excesses of intellectualism that impede the realization of the artist's peculiar virtue and weakened the bondage to a narrowly scientific scheme of conception which obscures his peculiar function. They are not necessarily *anti*-scientific or *anti*-intellectual; as I have tried to show, they may employ logical analysis as an aid to elucidating their sensory impressions, and they draw freely upon modern scientific thought—just as the earliest impressionistic painters were simply using more scientific chromatic formulas. They may be regarded as providing a necessary supplement to the pure scientific rationale: a rationale that by itself tends to dehumanize experience, to sacrifice man's oldest emotional needs to his latest intellectual interests. Impressionism is finally to be viewed as one manifestation of the widespread search for new perspectives—of the whole process of reorientation, once more, to a world at once staggeringly old and new. Although it has led artists into strange byways and blind alleys its ultimate tendency has been, if not clearly to spiritualize at least to poetize fiction; if not always to deepen at least to quicken its humanity; if not harmoniously to synthetize at least to amplify and enrich the concrete experiences in which human values take root.

Despite its apparent sophistication impressionism is, to be sure, primitive—primitive in its subordination of intellectual analysis to naive sensation, formal knowledge to intuitive perception. It is in other words reactionary and in an age when *reactionary* is the most fashionable term of abuse. But I should again quote the remark of Nietzsche about Schopenhauer that I have had occasion to use before: the value of the reactionary genius is that for a time he forces back our feeling into the great old ways of viewing man and the world; and in this regression lies the germ of a new and fresh development.

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Archeological Discovery 1936-1937

STANLEY CASSON

ARCHEOLOGICAL discovery moves so fast in these days of well subsidized research that those interested in the art, the history and the literature of Greece and Rome are often hard put to it to keep abreast of the times. Hardly a year passes without some discovery of major importance or without many new minor additions to knowledge.

Of the Minoan world we are every year better informed. One of the most striking discoveries made for many years past in Crete has been a great cave, situated not far from the north coast of the island, excavated in 1937 by Dr. Spiridon Marinatos, now head of the Archeological Department of the Government of Greece. Having blasted their way through the fallen entrance the excavators found a deposit of more than 100 double-ended axes of gold and bronze, and large numbers of immense bronze sword-blades. Although many sacred caves had previously been found on the island, none were so richly supplied with votive objects. Minoan religion has always been thought to be closely connected with natural phenomena, and it was known that stones, pillars, stalagmites and wells were the objects of actual worship in shrines; the evidence of this cave seems to point further to the fact that Minoans dispensed entirely with temples and carried out their rites in natural locations. The masculine character of this great votive collection, dated about 1600 B. C., indicates that this was the shrine of some male deity; and Dr. Marinatos assumes, with some reason—arguing from the fact that the dedicatory objects were mainly axes, which were in later Greece a symbol of Zeus—that it is this cave which during a post-Minoan period was famous as the actual birthplace of Zeus. Such a cave in Crete is mentioned in the works of the poet Hesiod. Thus the deity known later to the Greeks seems to have pre-existed in Crete, but we do not yet know the name which was given to him by Minoans.

Some clue to this may eventually be discovered from an inscription on one of the golden axes,

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in the Minoan script which closely resembles the script on the famous Phaestos Disk. Minoan writing still baffles all enquiry. A new inscription, found late in 1937 in Crete near Mallia, where some years ago French excavators found a Minoan Palace, is the first known to be carved in large letters, nearly an inch in height. Clearly cut on stone, these characters are likewise similar to those of the Phaestos Disk, and it is now thought that the Minoans used a special hieratic script to which all these three inscriptions belong.

Attempts have been made recently to decipher certain inscriptions in the mainland version of the Minoan script, from Mycenaean sites. The first, found a few years ago during the Swedish excavations at Asine near Nauplia, has been translated as a Greek hexameter by the Swedish Professor Axel Persson. He has used the Cypriot script, which survived down to classical times and whose sound-values are to some extent known. But his equation of the Mycenaean signs with the Cypriot is wholly unconvincing, as is also his assumption that the language which the inscription represents is Greek. A similar attempt to translate a short inscription found painted on a vase in the Mycenaean level of the site of Eleusis near Athens is equally unconvincing. Too little is yet known about the Bronze Age script of Cyprus for us to be certain that its relation with the script of classical Cyprus is close, and until that close relationship is established it is a most precarious enterprise to attempt to translate Minoan on such a basis.

Troy, which has been in the process of skillful reexcavation for the past five years by an American expedition, is now revealing more unsuspected secrets. The excavations of Heinrich Schleimann and Wilhelm Doerpfeld left many undecided questions, and recent discoveries in the Near East have, since their time, added enormously to our general knowledge of Aegean problems. The most important results of the new excavations consist in a complete revision of the chronology of the site. The level of the Citadel of Troy, which was called by Doerpfeld and Walter Leaf the Homeric City, the sixth settlement, is now found to have perished about 1300 B. C., long before the legendary sack of Troy. The past season further revealed that its end came about by a violent earthquake, and it is astonishing that no memory of this survives either in the Homeric poems or in any other ancient literature. Many traces of the violence of the destruction were found, in the shape of collapsed walls and cracked bastions. After this destruction the inhabitants reoccupied the site and repaired much of the damage. The new city, called Seventh A (VII A) by Doerpfeld, is now seen to be the citadel which corresponds with the

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Homeric Age. This was sacked and destroyed about the time usually given in ancient records: the date accepted by the excavation is 1200-1180 B. C.

Another important discovery was the fact that the Trojans cremated their dead. A series of burials of ashes in urns was found on and near the site. The custom of Minoans and Mycenaeans was uniformly to bury their dead uncremated, and yet throughout the Homeric poems the dead are always burned. This contradiction between archeological fact and literary record has always puzzled scholars and still remains a problem. But it is satisfactory to know that at least the Trojans habitually followed a custom described in the Iliad and Odyssey.

Primitive and archaic Greek life has been largely illustrated by recent finds. The British excavations at Perachora near Corinth have produced among other things a fine model of a very early temple, a small votive dedication on the shrine of Hera at the site. The small model shows that the earliest known type of Greek temple of the 9th or 8th century B. C. was a small straw-thatched hut-shaped building with an apse-end, pillars on either side of its one entrance and meager windows. The walls of the temple of which the model was a miniature were probably made of wattle, whitewashed and painted with designs of a geometric character.

At the same site was found a most remarkable inscription of the 7th century on a block of limestone, unlike anything hitherto discovered. It reads: I AM A DRACHMA FOR HERA OF THE WHITE ARMS. The stone originally held an offering which must have consisted of a bundle of iron spits (DRACHMA in Greek means literally a "handful") and such spits are known to have been the earliest form of coinage. As proper coinage came into circulation the "spit-currency" was recalled and dedicated as temple-offerings. Some fine examples of Corinthian bronzes of the 6th century were also found at Perachora.

Efforts are now being made to solve many of the outstanding problems of archaic Greek art. Excavations are shortly to be undertaken at Chios, it is hoped, which may help to provide a solution to the question of the origin of the so-called "Naukratite" pottery, a ware of great precision and elegance. The American excavations at the Agora at Athens are perhaps at the moment the most important from the point of view of early Attic art and of Athenian topography. A magnificent series of Geometric and Proto-Geometric Attic vases have been found there in the lowest levels, and also many examples of that brief but intriguing fashion of ceramic known as "Proto-Attic."

One of the most striking of the

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recent discoveries at the Agora has been fragments of clay molds for bronze statues, found in what seems to be the remains of a bronze-caster's studio in the heart of the ancient city. The group included a large part of the mold for a late 6th century statue, and is of the greatest assistance to students of the technical aspects of ancient Greek sculpture.

Historians of Greece are receiving from these excavations repeated direct illustrations of some of the major events of Greek history. Three finds are of outstanding interest. The first is a much-battered but restorable bronze shield discovered buried in the remains of a cistern, bearing in punched letters the phrase, DEDICATED BY THE ATHENIANS AS SPOIL FROM THE SPARTANS AT PYLOS. The famous battle at Sphakteria and Pylos occurred in 424 B. C. and the trophies of arms were then dedicated in the Painted Stoa near the Market Place at Athens. Here Pausanias, 600 years later, saw them.

Secondly, there was found the marble basis of a statue, bearing the first authentic signature known of the sculptor Praxiteles. On the base is also an inscription mentioning the dedicators of the statue —members of a family recorded by Demosthenes, and known to have lived about 360 B. C. This is a welcome confirmation of the date usually assigned to Praxiteles.

The third discovery was the inscribed basis of the statues of Harmodies and Aristogeiton, the Slayers of the Tyrants in 514 B. C. The inscription, in verse, has been previously attributed to Simonides, the greatest of Greek lyric poets, but was regarded as a purely literary composition rather than as a dedication.

One of the most noteworthy additions to knowledge gained by these Athenian excavations has been the identification of the foundations of all the most important buildings of the Athenian Civic Administration. The oldest of these is perhaps the Royal Colonnade, where trials were held by the Court of the Areopagus for impiety. It is certain that it was here that Socrates was condemned to death. Near it were the Metroön where the civic archives were stored and the Temple of Apollo Patroios where births were registered. Also identified was the circular building called the Prytaneium, where those supported by the State were housed and fed.

Outstanding among the literary discoveries of the past two years is the new large fragment of a poem by Sappho, discovered in 1937. It occurs as an inscription written in ink on a flake of stone, or "ostrakon." Such ostraka—pieces of smooth stone or potsherds—were the ancient world's inexpensive alternative for papyrus. This Sapphic example, now in an Italian library and first pub-

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lished in Italian, comes from Egypt and appears to have been purchased from a dealer. Scholars are now at work over the many difficulties and disputes involved in its translation. In all, parts of 17 lines are preserved, excellently written in an educated cursive hand, but there are numerous errors of spelling and it seems that the writer was probably inscribing it from dictation or memory. At any rate he was wholly unacquainted with the peculiarities of the Aeolic dialect. The attribution of the whole four-stanza poem to Sappho is certain, because one of the stanzas was already known to exist, recorded by an ancient writer as a Sapphic excerpt. The poem, charmingly describing a flowery meadow in Crete and calling upon the Cyprian to bring her gold cup of nectar to the festival, is the most notable addition to the Greek lyric poets made for a generation.

A discovery near the site of Amphipolis in Macedonia records another famous episode in the Peloponnesian War. The valiant defence of Brasidas, the Spartan general who was sent to Macedonia to save the campaign for the Spartans against Athens, appears to have been commemorated by the erection of a massive marble lion near the river Strymon, adjoining the site of the city. It was found in fragments during the course of engineering operations on the Strymonic plane. Reassembled and restored, it can take its place as a battle monument beside the famous Lion of Chæronea in Bœotia.

Nothing of very great importance has turned up recently on Italian soil, nor has much been found to illuminate further our knowledge of the Roman Empire. But the superb Etruscan statues in terracotta recently fully published for the first time by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York reveal to us an almost wholly unknown chapter in the history of Etruscan art in the early 5th century. The most important of the three sculptures now added to the museum is a fierce figure of the Etruscan War God, striding forward and smiting with his sword. The almost complete preservation of the figure makes it a work of art of extreme value and importance. Technically it is a triumph in the art in which the Etruscans of the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. were known to excel. Artistically it is a most valuable illustration of the fundamental difference between the Etruscan style and the Greek. The figure is grim, ruthless and cruel—three qualities rarely found in Greek art —but is at the same time a work of the highest caliber. Although it is known that Etruscan art was wholly derivative from Greek, it was no mere copy: it was an alternative art.

In Roman Britain one remarkable discovery has been made

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which illustrates the first phase of the Roman conquest of the island. This past summer's concluding phase of the excavations at Maiden Castle near Dorchester, Dorset, revealed that on the outskirts of the main eastern gateway to the great earthwork which bears this name were over 30 burials of Celtic British warriors who had died in defence of their citadel during a violent attack. Since the attack seems at first to have failed and the dead were properly interred with full rites and with their proper equipment, it is possible to date the burials with some precision: they mark the fall of the defenders of a stronghold which seems to have been assaulted, at first unsuccessfully and then successfully, by the Romans in their first drive to the west of England under Vespasian. Actual and explicit illustration of the first conflict between Britons and Romans has not hitherto been found in Britain.

A second discovery of equal importance in England was the fragment of a tomb-inscription found during building operations at Trinity Place, Tower Hill, London. It was seen to belong to another fragment previously found nearby in 1852. The whole was the tomb of one Alpinus Classicianus, who is described on the stone as PROCURATOR OF THE PROVINCE OF BRITANNIA. This Classicianus is well known to us from the pages of Tacitus. He was appointed to Britain by the Emperor Nero immediately after the suppression of the revolt of Queen Boudicca by a most able general, Suetonius Paulinus. After the revolt Suetonius initiated a policy of repression and reprisal, but the newly arrived procurator Classicianus firmly opposed this and suggested instead a policy of conciliation and appeasement. In consequence of his representations to Rome the general Suetonius was recalled and the more humane methods of pacification set in motion. That they succeeded is evident from the subsequent course of Romano-British history. This tombstone must thus rank as one of the most treasured possessions of the English people and particularly of the citizens of London, whose British and Roman ancestors had suffered so severely in the revolt of Boudicca. A replica of the stone has been made and built into the new construction erected on the site.

Islamic and Arabic at Princeton Again

NABIH A. FARIS

A Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies, the first of its kind, was held at Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., from June 20 to July 31, 1935, under

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the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies. Its purpose was not to produce Arabists or Islamic scholars in so brief a period as six weeks but to bring together a group of scholars, men and women, engaged in the teaching of history, fine arts, philosophy, and religion, who meet the Islamic civilization peripherally in the course of their daily work and who, by the accident of their educational experience, have never had the opportunity for serious study of the world of Islam under competent guidance and with adequate materials. Thirty-three such scholars from nineteen educational institutions in seven different countries attended the Seminar. The courses given included Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Islamic culture and civilization, Ottoman history, and Moslem art.

The success of the first Seminar warranted the planning of a second to be held again in the Graduate College, Princeton University, for a period of six weeks beginning Saturday morning, June 25, 1938, under the directorship of Professor Philip K. Hitti of Princeton University. The courses in the Arabic language and history will be given by Professor Hitti, Dr. Nabih A. Faris of Princeton University, and Dr. Edward J. Jurji of the Institute for Advanced Study. Those in the Turkish language and history will be offered by Dr. Walter L. Wright, Jr., president of Robert College, Istanbul. Professor M. Aga-Oglu of the University of Michigan will have charge of the courses in Moslem art. Dr. Muhammad Simsar of the University of Pennsylvania will conduct the courses in Persian. All these courses are designed to meet the needs of new students as well as those who attended the first Seminar.

A number of American Semitists and specialists in fields contiguous to Arabic have been invited to deliver lectures during the Seminar. These include A. T. Olmstead of the University of Chicago, J. A. Montgomery of the University of Pennsylvania, W. W. S. Cook of New York University, E. E. Calverley of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University, S. M. Zwemer of the Princeton Theological Seminary, H. L. Savage and C. R. Morey of Princeton University.

Applications have already been received from members of fourteen educational institutions including the University of California, the University of Illinois, Yale University, and Vassar College.

A limited number of scholarships and grants-in-aid covering part of the expenses of attendance are available from funds provided by the American Council of Learned Societies.

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Discussion

ESP SKEPTIC——

To the Editor:

Gardner Murphy, in an article in your Spring issue, attributes the cold reception given ESP by the majority of scientists to their blind faith in a "prevailing world view." I cannot agree with him. I refuse to accept ESP only because of a healthy skepticism. When a series of experiments conducted by one or a few groups of people gives results contrary to what would be expected on the basis of a great many solidly determined and repeatedly confirmed experimental facts, an attitude of skepticism seems to me to be the only justifiable one.

I am a biologist and I should like to illustrate my point with an example from recent biological work. It was not so long ago that "mitogenetic rays" penetrated to the front pages of our newspapers. Living organisms were said to give off ultra-violet rays, and thereby to influence other living organisms. Like ESP, it was a subject well suited to the newspapers. But most biologists and physicists doubted the existence of these radiations. Certainly no "world-view" was here involved. The results of Gurwitsch and his students were at variance not with theories but with certain experimental facts. Still, the evidence presented by Gurwitsch and his school seemed to support his thesis, just as Dr. Rhine's evidence is mathematically sound and supports his thesis. No one doubted the honesty of Dr. Gurwitsch, just as no one doubts Dr. Rhine's honesty. But when biologists began to repeat Gurwitsch's experiments, very few could obtain his results, and some of these have, upon improvement of their technique, been unable to again obtain their previous positive reults. The whole matter was very much unsettled. Recently, a report by Dr. A. Hollaender has appeared of extremely careful physical and biological measurements which certainly should have revealed the existence of mitogenetic rays had they existed. All the results were entirely negative. What was wrong with Gurwitsch's work? It would be difficult to say. No doubt Gurwitsch still considers himself right. But the experimental evidence against his conclusions is very great. Presumably he has been making a mistake somewhere. He and his students have published a voluminous literature and have used mitogenetic rays to explain everything from cancer to nervous conduction.

The moral of all this is that perhaps the ESP researchers, instead of studying effects of age, sex, odor, color, etc., had better first make sure that ESP really exists. Why do they tell the subject all the possibilities first? If there is such a thing as clairvoyance, it seems to me that the good clairvoyant ought to be able to say, "That card has a four-leafed clover on it," even if he has not been told in advance that such a card was to be included in the pack. The researchers ought to try to fool their clairvoyants, tell them that there will be squares, circles, etc., and instead put in triangles, clover designs and so on. Of course, Dr. Rhine states that he does not trick his subjects because then they will lose faith in him and will be unable to perform. This seems a very poor excuse. If clairvoyance is indeed a means of perception, it ought to *perceive*. If it is a matter of faith, then it is beyond the limits of science. Everybody who wants to believe in, let us say, Buddhism is privileged to do so, and one must then say the same about ESP.

WILLIAM TRAGER,
Rockefeller Institute, Princeton, N. J.

——MET BY DR. RHINE

To the Editor:

I thank you for allowing me to read Mr. Trager's letter.

I can well understand his expressed skepticism, but for two important reasons am unable to agree with him on the grounds he offers for his skepticism.

First, there are not to my knowledge "many solidly determined and repeatedly confirmed experimental facts" contrary to the research in extra-sensory perception. In fact, it is difficult to find any facts *against* extra-sensory perception. There have been some failures in attempts to discover

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whether extra-sensory perception occurred; but when one is searching for an unknown possibility, failure may very well be construed as possibly due to improper methods of searching.

On the other hand, the many confirmatory reports of research conducted in many different laboratories in this country and abroad must contribute, I think, to any thoughtful person a feeling that the probability is considerable that the senses are not the only gateways to perception. It would hardly be a "*healthy* skepticism" that would lead one to ignore these actual experimental results. It is possible that Mr. Trager is not acquainted with these researches; and as a first step I would call his attention to the *Journal of Parapsychology*, in which such researches have since 1937 been published.

Second, Mr. Trager makes the claim that "if there is such a thing as clairvoyance, it seems to me that the good clairvoyant ought to be able to say, 'That card has a four-leafed clover on it,' even if he has not been told in advance that such a card was to be included in the pack." But herein I fear that Mr. Trager shows that he has not yet caught the spirit of scientific inquiry, which forbids one to dictate in advance what must be found with regard to a principle in nature. The scientist must inquire without such presupposition. It might well be that if clairvoyance be strong enough, unlimited enough, Mr. Trager's deduction would follow. But it could also be that clairvoyance might indeed occur, but occur only in a feeble way; it might be able to recognize familiar things occasionally, just as one may, using sensory perception, be able to find in a puzzle picture the outline of a certain figure if he knows in advance what figure to look for, whereas he might miss the objective entirely if he did not. Mr. Trager's assumption is not, therefore, justified. It may well be that with some subjects such limiting conditions as we use are unnecessary, or the time may come when they will not be necessary for any subject. But the careful explorer seeks always to find first what is there, with as little dogmatism as possible.

With the subject aware of the number of possible choices, we have the enormous advantage of having definitely defined antecedent probability for each trial, since it is important to have careful measurement even of minute evidences of any delicate process that is under investigation.

May I take this opportunity to express to you my deep appreciation for your publication of the articles dealing with extra-sensory perception by Professor Murphy and Professor Huntington. The contributions by these men, distinguished as they are in fields so closely related to the research problems with which we are dealing, are of the utmost importance, particularly in the pioneer stage at which these investigations now are. Professor Huntington's own mathematical research has contributed greatly to the clarification of the evaluative side, and the research from Dr. Murphy's laboratory has rendered substantial contributions to the evidence itself.

J. B. Rhine,
Professor of Psychology, Duke University

WELL, *IS* IT CHANCE OR ESP?

To the Editor:

The essential statistical fault with the interpretation of the ESP results as described in your Spring 1938 issue lies not in the mathematical theory as such, described in Professor E. V. Huntington's article, nor probably in the physical laboratory technique described in Professor Gardner Murphy's article, but in the application of the former to the latter and in the classification of the statistical results arising from the latter. The analysis seems to suffer from a bad case of *a posteriori* reasoning, deductions arrived at after the event has occurred and based on a deliberate choosing of the favorable event.

In the Harvard experiment (page 192) the emphasis is placed on the excellent score at the *beginning* of the first experiment in spite of the fact that 1743 calls were made in the first experiment and presumably a similar number in each of the other two experiments mentioned. We then have the startling statement that the later results do not "bear on the statistical question as to whether the first was a chance series, since it ought not to have given such results on a chance basis once in a century, though repeated monthly throughout the time" (which, incidentally, is another way of saying the *a priori* chance of the happening was one in 1200), without considering that these successes must be taken as part of the complete experiment *including all the failures*, even assuming other statistical criteria had been fulfilled. The other day while walking along Madison Avenue near 70th Street, a part of this city I rarely happen to visit, I ran into a friend whom I had not seen for about ten years, since he had moved to another city. He explained that this was his first visit to New York in all that time and that he was in the city for only a few hours. The mathematical

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probability of our meeting was of an infinitesimal order, but *after the event* it was certainty. If I had predicted *before* we had met that I would run into this friend it would have been a startling circumstance but *a posteriori* it is not statistically correct to consider this chance incident, perhaps even with some others of a like nature, apart from the very large number of cases where no chance meeting had occurred.

On page 194 Professor Murphy states that "eight subjects were soon found who could score remarkably ahead of chance" and that "others appeared later." The results of those who showed a low score (possibly from a streak of bad luck) are not mentioned. Apparently, a *good* subject is here defined at the same time that he is under observation and remains so defined until his "capacity fades out" (page 197), when the explanation given is in keeping with the method of the investigation in choosing the favorable event—that is, there is a "tendency to go stale." Similarly a run of good luck at a roulette wheel might be taken as proof of an affinity between the ball in the wheel (or perhaps the spinner of the wheel) and the person enjoying the run, who presumably is possessed of some ESP. Remember that the probability of a good run at roulette is *a priori* (before the event) of the same order as the probabilities for good runs in the ESP tests. The important statistical result is obtained when it is found for an individual or a group of individuals chosen *before* the test that their runs are *consistently* enough better than average to eliminate the question of chance.

Professor Huntington refers to "the realm of isolated anecdotes" in which I suppose is included the experiment described in some detail on pages 191 and 192. It is noteworthy, incidentally, that such experiments are reported only when successful. How many experiments in all were tried on this student of dentistry? How many experiments were tried on other students? What were *all* the results? The ESP tests by concentrating on subjects when successful and only as long as they are successful has merely elaborated on the "isolated anecdote" method.

On page 199 Professor Murphy describes running "some hundreds of thousands of cards as empirical controls—that is for comparison, *card by card* (italics mine) with other decks of cards" and confirming in this way the "chance expectations." If Professor Murphy had, as in the ESP tests with individuals, tabulated the results of this empirical test, in sets of successively appearing cards (25 in each set), he might have noticed a closer correspondence between the results obtained in the "empirical" test and those obtained in *all* of the ESP tests. A further grouping of, say, 10 successively appearing sets, corresponding to 10 sets of trials for an ESP subject, would have been interesting. If Professor Murphy has tabulated his results in this way, there is no indication in his paper of it. In any case, some such tabulation is a proper and necessary part of a statistical survey such as is claimed for the ESP tests.

A proper statistical method for judging ESP observations, in line with those used in "many other fields of inquiry" where "this level of 1 in 150 is accepted as significant," (quotation from page 210) might proceed in the following manner. To discover the existence of ESP in a group suspected of having such ability, such groups should be compared with a similar group of individuals who, on the basis of preliminary tests, it is thought may not have any ESP at all. A large number of observations *all of which* are retained and tabulated should be taken of each of the two groups and the results compared. If then it is suspected that any particular 10 or 20 individuals show a marked degree of ESP, a *new* and *large* set of observations of such individuals should be taken, and not (as in the present ESP results) the old and favorable observations selected, which, as part of a much larger number, may have been the result of chance. I should like, furthermore, to suggest that one or two skeptical observers be present at all the tests, so that any question of bias on the part of those conducting the tests could not arise.

I am not taking a position on the validity of psychic phenomena. I do believe that if a statistical method of observation is used in discovering the existence of such a phenomenon, this should be done with an appreciation of the limitations of such a method.

MANUEL GELLES,
Actuary, New York. N. Y.

THE BACK OF THE CRESCENT

To the Editor:

The makings of a controversy can easily be foreseen to lie in my article[1] because, in my opinion, Americans have been for years outrageously misinformed with regard to Turkey and the Turks. Such information as has been available has been for the most part provided either by the enemies of the Turks or by Americans who had

[1] See p. 259.

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some kind of an axe to grind—as, for instance, the agents of the Near East Relief Organization. These people were engaged in getting funds for a very laudable purpose, that of aiding Armenian and Greek refugees who were absolutely destitute. They tended, however, to paint a picture representing harmless and innocent Christian populations unnecessarily and ruthlessly destroyed by barbarian Turks. It was necessary, perhaps, to draw this picture in order to wring the desired funds out of the American public but it bore no close relation to the actual facts.

Since Americans received little or no information of any other sort they are not particularly to be blamed for accepting such views. This does not, however, make those views any less incorrect. I did not intend to "glide over" the subject but rather to let the past take care of itself so far as the massacres are concerned. The subject is in itself extremely controversial because there is so much that can be said on both sides. I would recommend the reading of Arnold Toynbee's *Western Question in Greece and Turkey* to those who want to get a reasonably impartial presentation of one set of incidents in the long history involved. The exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey was a cruel but nevertheless statesmanlike effort to solve the problem of conflicting national aspirations, and it has at least the virtue of having been successful.

WALTER LIVINGSTON WRIGHT, JR.

ROBERT OWEN RESURGENT

To the Editor:

It was with great interest that I read Kenneth M. Gould's "Robert Owen: Backwater of History?" in the Spring number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. For the past few years I have been working on the general utopian socialist movement in America, and I was delighted with Mr. Gould's able and interesting discussion of Owen's career and his achievements in educational and social reform. It seems to me that the great emphasis placed on Marxist socialism in recent times has resulted in rather an appalling neglect of such reformers as Owen. I quite agree with Mr. Gould that many of the currents of modern thought have their origin in Owen's social theories and practical reforms. Indeed, his influence on modern educational philosophy alone is incalculable. Certainly Owen is a neglected "backwater" about whom we ought to know more. Too frequently he has been pigeon-holed as a crack-pot because of the failure of his abortive "experiments" and the millennial fanaticism of his later years.

In his paragraphs on Owen's experiences in America Mr. Gould has one or two misleading or incorrect statements of fact which I should like to correct. On page 159 he says that when Owen arrived in America in 1825 to found New Harmony, "New England was teeming with such enterprises," and goes on to quote Emerson's statement about "numberless projects of social reform." However, with the exception of such well-established organizations as the Shakers, there were few such "enterprises" in New England at all. The religious communisms were to be found rather in the border states and the West. In fact most of the genuine social experiments in community living came after Owen established New Harmony. And as for Emerson's statement, Mr. Gould is rather seriously off on chronology, inasmuch as his quotation is from a letter written by Emerson to Carlyle on October 30, 1840, some 15 years later.

Again on page 167, Mr. Gould errs in listing Frances Wright's community at Nashoba as one of those following Owen's experiment. The fact is, of course, that Nashoba was founded shortly before New Harmony, and indeed Frances Wright left it to go to the Indiana community and later to New York, where she assisted Robert Dale Owen in editing *The Free Inquirer*.

GEORGE SMART,
Instructor in English,
Northwestern University

NO CONTROVERSY

To the Editor:

I am glad to have Mr. Smart's interesting and appreciative comment on my Owen article. His corrections are, in the main, well taken, and I do not wish to elaborate them into controversy. The sources from which I drew much of my material, Podmore's and Cole's lives, Lockwood's *New Harmony Movement*, Noyes' *History of American Socialisms*, and Hinds' *American Communities*, are unfortunately not at hand.

The Emerson quotation to Carlyle, it is true, is of a later date. I used it as an index to a general atmosphere, and felt a certain chronological license justifiable to this end. It is undoubtedly true also that more of the religious communistic colonies were to be found in the Middle West than in New England. But the influence of the Transcendentalists, of Noyes (who

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migrated from Putney, Vt.), and others is evidence enough that New England was full of the communal urge, especially during the Fourierist wave of the '40's.

The date of Frances Wright's Nashoba experiment is uncertain. She did not reach America on her second visit until 1824, almost coincidentally with Owen's first visit to New Harmony. The *Columbia Encyclopedia* states that Nashoba was not founded until 1827 and failed in 1830. I am under the impression that her enterprises were somewhat desultory and broken by intervals of financial stringency, as were most such colonies.

KENNETH M. GOULD,
Editor, The Scholastic,
New York, N. Y.

TEARS FOR THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL

To the Editor:

I have just read Dean Joseph Hudnut's article, "Architecture Discovers the Present," published in the Winter AMERICAN SCHOLAR. This paper, constructive as it is, loses much of its effectiveness through its iconoclastic note.

The past is capable of sustaining its own and I hold no brief for its defense. But it so happens that the Lincoln Memorial is signally selected for three deliberate blows by this writer. Classicism in spite of the most modern of movements will always hold a place in architecture and only after centuries will fragments of today's bungling experiments in art be sifted out as worthy of retention and become classic in turn.

As one who has been thrilled by the succession of modern efforts, such as Östberg's Stockholm City Hall, the Railway Station of Saarinin in Helsingfors and the ultra-modern town hall of Halversum I can safely claim sympathy with modernism. But to regard as unsuitable or unsatisfactory the beauty of the classics for a memorial such as that to Lincoln in Washington is to me incomprehensible in one who was presumably trained as an architect and who today has students sitting at his feet at Harvard.

The needs of the present day for housing, commerce and industry can in all probability not be met by strict adherence to the old schools. The tradition of the "Beaux Arts" is hopeless for designing a one-story steel factory covering 20 acres in floor space. America, while lost for the moment in materialism and commerce, still has, however, a place—indeed an appreciative place—for "repose and completeness." The modern office building with the use of the "Maya motive" in its set-back may console the designer, and its suitability is accepted by all, but think of Daniel Chester French's Abraham Lincoln surrounded by a structure of steel and glass!

May I suggest to the author-architect that on an inconspicuous stone at the right-hand corner of the façade of the Lincoln Memorial there is cut simply, unobtrusively but perfectly recognizably the name of the architect who gave us this beautiful building. It is Henry and not Robert Bacon.

The building, by the author's implication, is lacking in emotional qualities. Yet I have a letter from the architect of one of the most beautiful art museums in America telling me that when he first saw the Lincoln Memorial in all its simple beauty the tears streamed down his face. Personally a hard-boiled scientist, I never see it, as I do two or more times a year, without a lump in my throat. If a chair at Harvard inhibits such impressions one wonders what will be left when our peripatetic author-architect reaches that post in the University of Northern Labrador or shortly thereafter the post above the Arctic Circle.

FRANCES G. BENEDICT,
Machiasport, Me.

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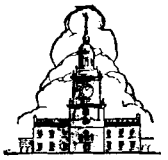

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About Our Authors

Quotation marks usually indicate passages taken directly from autobiographical letters requested from the authors themselves.

WALTER LIVINGSTON WRIGHT, JR., specializes in Ottoman Turkish history. His own crescent points East and West, for he taught history and English at the American University of Beirut from 1921 to 1925 and followed this with five years' study at Princeton (during two of which he carried on research in Turkish language and history) plus five more years of teaching at Princeton before he was called to the presidency of Robert College and the American College for Girls, both at Istanbul. . . . "I am addicted to collecting manuscripts in the old Turkish handwriting and have a considerable collection of Moslem coins. The Turkish language has also fascinated me and I have done a great deal of traveling around, *en garçon*, over the infrequently visited districts of Anatolia."

GEORGE BOAS (professor of the history of philosophy, Johns Hopkins) says that his life has never had a dull moment except when he was a student, but that out of his four unhappiest years, spent at Brown as an undergraduate, came the consuming interest of his mature life—discovering "what makes people think as they do. . . . I have never found out but every once in a while I think I understand and those moments are of course very precious. If I had some money I should retire to my farm and during the winter think the thing through. But in my profession there is no chance to make money and so my epitaph will be, 'He might have found out if he could have found the time.'" . . . What he writes on his way to his goal is illuminating, as those who have read "Prophecy and History" (AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Autumn 1936) or any of his numerous books on philosophy and ways of thinking will have discovered.

Horace M. Kallen first aroused JOSEPH P. McMURRAY'S interest in cooperatives. "As a Catholic and a student of economics I could not avoid the question of the Catholic Church—the theoretical aspects of its social philosophy and the practical application of that philosophy. The golden opportunity to draw on the whole of European experience, where this problem is more discussed, came when the University in Exile offered me a scholarship for 1937-38. As an undergraduate I worked as a field agent on two sales tax studies, conducted by Columbia University, and participated in a number of research projects conducted by the Division of Economic Research of Brooklyn College."

It was at Teachers College, Columbia, that PAUL P. BUSHNELL found himself "jolted awake by ideas worth getting excited about. . . . My first year abroad was passed in Peking, studying the language and the people. For the next three years I taught at the Presbyterian Mission in Hunan, and in 1927 was acting principal of the school when it stood in the line of northward march of the Southern armies, then communistic, and thus witnessed the whole upheaval of a society. . . . I subsequently taught in the Philippines, finished my doctoral work at Columbia and since 1929 have been at Wooster as assistant professor of education. . . . Nothing more need really be known, however, about a writer on Ignorance than that he is, as a friend has already declared me to be, 'full of his subject.'"

SHAILER MATHEWS, Dean Emeritus of the University of Chicago Divinity School, has been involved in theological discussion for many years and his views have been subjected to rather bitter criticism. He is "still convinced, however, that free discussion of religious matters is indispensable but that such discussion ought not to make theologians lose their tempers or think that truth is established by harsh language." Out of his experience as chairman or trustee of innumerable organizations (including the Chicago Cooperative Council of City Missions, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Kobe College Corporation and the World Conference on International Peace Through Religion) he has undoubtedly learned the importance of being "unprincipled" in debate. . . . His success in living up to his ideals may be gauged by the latest of his long line of books, *New Faith for Old: An Autobiography*. . . . He has been ideal as an author—and this is his third article to be published in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR ("Is God Emeritus?" Autumn 1935 and "As Grows the Game," Winter 1937).

WILLIAM J. SHULTZ, instructor in the School of Business and Civic Administration, C. C. N. Y., drifted into economics through music (he was at one time a music critic for *The Nation*) and takes a busman's holiday from the unsolved problems of economics by spending more time than he should in reading mystery stories. On occasion he balances his own economy by writing adventure stories. . . . He served for four years as financial economist for the National Industrial Conference Board; has taught at Hunter

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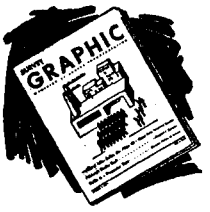

As for *fact-finding*, Maxine Davis gives the nib of a 6,000 mile trip to find out what is left of American opportunity in terms of jobs for young people and Farnsworth Crowder shows how the old people cripple Colorado state finances and threaten the welfare of the coming generation. Here are close-ups on the streamlined industrial relations on the Union Pacific. And the labor policies in those auto plants at Dearborn where Henry Ford sits at the wheel. And here are appraisals of the new consumers' movements that are taking head, by D. E. Montgomery of the AAA; of voluntary schemes of industrial arbitration by Webb Waldron, and the health front in the South by Surgeon General Parran.

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College, Columbia and the University of Chicago; and has published a number of books on taxation and finance. "I also serve as consultant to legislative committees trying to discover new taxes and to business associations trying to prevent the levy of the new taxes that the committees (those I'm not helping) discover."

HENRY S. DRINKER, JR., senior partner of the law firm of Drinker, Biddle and Reath, member of the board of fine arts of the University of Pennsylvania and vice-president of the Settlement Music School in Philadelphia, spends his spare time in missionary work for the reinstatement of music as a language. The chorus of 100 that meets in his house under his own baton to sing the great choral works, but never gives a concert, is an eloquent brief for participation in music by "the general."

C. J. DUCASSE, the man who raised the question "Are the Humanities Worth Their Keep?" in the Autumn 1937 number and who has always thought it would be nice to live in an underground cave, has varied interests to compensate for his life in a sunlit world. He is chairman of the department of philosophy at Brown University, for years made jewelry as a hobby, has a cat that rides on his shoulder when he works in his garden and has written several books, one of them *The Philosophy of Art.* . . . His thoughts on the philosophy of artifice arose "in connection with Darwin's and Marshall's attempt to assign a biological or social utility to art as productive of beauty, particularly of person." His students "always seem to relish this tie-up between the philosophy and the concrete fact of self-adornment with which they are all directly familiar."

ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON, now professor of politics at Princeton, received his early schooling in a rural community on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, a spot where the "true rugged individualist survives, free enterprise flourishes and property is widely diffused among *petite bourgeoisie.*" As a graduate student, and ever since he joined Princeton's faculty in 1925, he has been engrossed in the theory and practice of democracy, and in Louis D. Brandeis has found "the embodiment of the genius of our American political tradition." His book, *Brandeis: Lawyer and Judge in the Modern State*, was reprinted by the National Home Library Foundation in a 100,000-copy edition. . . . He is especially concerned lest "contemporary Social Planners, fixing their gaze on some delusive finality—'classless society,' '*Volksgemeinschaft*,' 'more abundant life'—lose

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sight of the fact that democracy is a method to be followed rather than an end to be achieved."

ARNAUD C. MARTS was vice-president of an insurance company when the War broke out. He was called to Washington to help organize some of the national campaigns for war-work agencies and liked the work so well that he later established himself in New York as a fund-raising counsellor for educational and philanthropic institutions. For three years he combined the presidency of the firm of Marts and Lundy (which has raised $200,000,000 for colleges, churches and philanthropies) with the acting-presidency of Bucknell. He thinks the trustees of the university rather let him down by electing him to the presidency in 1938, but accepted office on the understanding that he will be allowed to continue his schizophrenic existence.

HERBERT J. MULLER is a little abashed to confess his pleasure in a life so tame. After teaching English for some years at Cornell he moved to Purdue and was gratified to find his notions about the Mid-West unsound. . . . "I have as much freedom, in both my professional and my private life, as I have ever had, and I am dealing with the most likable students of my experience —including even the many who should not be in college. . . . My position in the world of ideas, however, is less comfortable. No other age has been so prodigal of stimulating ideas and none so wasteful. I find it exciting to explore the many perspectives and attempt to harmonize them: to synthesize all that is unquestionably valuable in the thought of Marx and Pareto, Freud and Pavlov, Irving Babbitt and Thomas Mann and the many other fathers of isms. Yet this effort gives me the unexciting appearance of the mere fence-sitter—the miserable 'liberal' exposed to a withering fire from all sides."

STANLEY CASSON, who spent part of his War years in Macedonia, Constantinople, Caucasus and Turkestan, and thus traveled over an area that incidentally was rich in archeological treasures, was engaged between 1920 and 1929 in excavations at Mycenæ, Macedonia and Constantinople. His book, *Progress in Archaeology*, describes recent additions to archeological knowledge around the world.

NABIH A. FARIS, born in Palestine, graduated from the American University in Beirut and later received a Ph.D. in Oriental languages from Princeton. Since 1935 he has been research associate there in Oriental languages.

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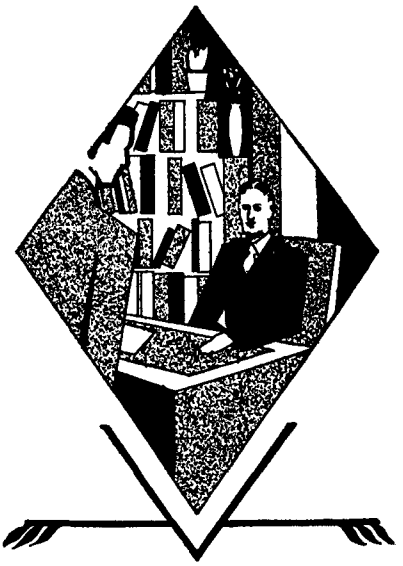

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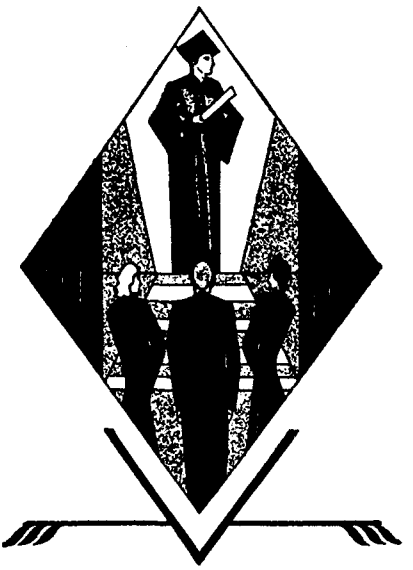

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